





ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

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VOLUME II

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	§§
THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY	1-37
CHRONOLOGY	38-57
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	58-75
THE PALERMO STONE: THE FIRST TO THE FIFTH DYNASTIES	76-167
I. Predynastic Kings	90
II. First Dynasty	91-116
III. Second Dynasty	117-144
IV. Third Dynasty	145-148
V. Fourth Dynasty	149-152
VI. Fifth Dynasty	153-167
THE THIRD DYNASTY	168-175
Reign of Snefru	168-175
Sinai Inscriptions	168-169
Biography of Methen	170-175
THE FOURTH DYNASTY	176-212
Reign of Khufu	176-187
Sinai Inscriptions	176
Inventory Stela	177-180
Examples of Dedication Inscriptions by Sons	181-187
Reign of Khafre	188-209
Stela of Mertityôtes	188-189
Will of Prince Nekure, Son of King Khafre	190-199
Testamentary Enactment of an Unknown Official, Establishing the Endowment of His Tomb by the Pyramid of Khafre	200-209
Reign of Menkure	210-212
Debhen's Inscription, Recounting King Menkure's Erec- tion of a Tomb for Him	210-212
THE FIFTH DYNASTY	213-281

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	§§
Testamentary Enactment of Nekonekh	213-215
I. The Priesthood of Hathor	216-219
II. The Mortuary Priesthood of Khenuka	220-222
III. Nekonekh's Will	223-225
IV. Nekonekh's Mortuary Priesthood	226-227
V. Nekonekh's Mortuary Statue	228-230
Testamentary Enactment of Senuonekh, Regulating His Mortuary Priesthood	231-235
Reign of Sahure	236-241
Sinai Inscriptions	236
Tomb Stela of Nenekhsekhmet	237-240
Tomb Inscription of Persen	241
Reign of Neferirkere	242-249
Tomb Inscriptions of the Vizier, Chief Judge, and Chief Architect Weshptah	242-249
Reign of Nuserre	250-262
Sinai Inscription	250
Tomb Inscriptions of Hotephiryakhet	251-253
Inscription of Ptahshepses	254-262
Reign of Menkuhor	263
Sinai Inscription	263
Reign of Dedkere-Isesi	264-281
Sinai Inscriptions	264-267
Tomb Inscriptions of Senezemib, Chief Judge, Vizier, and Chief Architect	268-277
Mortuary Inscription of Nezemib	278-279
Tomb Inscription of the Nomarch Henku	280-281
THE SIXTH DYNASTY	282-390
Reign of Teti	282-294
Inscriptions of Sabu, Also Called Ibebi	282-286
Inscription of Sabu, Also Called Thety	287-288
Inscription of an Unknown Builder	289-290
Inscription of Uni	291-294
I. Career under Teti (l. 1)	292-294
II. Career under Pepi I (ll. 2-32)	306-315
III. Career under Mernere (ll. 32-50)	319-324
Reign of Pepi I	295-315
Hammamat Inscriptions	295-315

TABLE OF CONTENTS

vii

	§§
I. The King's Inscriptions	296
II. The Expedition's Inscription	297-298
III. Chief Architect's Inscription	299
IV. Inscription of the Treasurer of the God Ikhi	300-301
Sinai Inscription	302-303
Inscription in the Hatnub Quarry	304-305
Inscription of Uni: II Career under Pepi I	306-315
Reign of Mernere	316-336
Inscriptions at the First Cataract	316-318
I. Northern Inscription	317
II. Southern Inscription	318
Inscription of Uni: III Career under Mernere	319-324
Inscriptions of Harkhuf	325-336
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued)	350-354
Reign of Pepi II	337-385
Conveyance of Land by Idu, Called Also Seneni	337-338
Sinai Inscription	339-343
Stela of the Two Queens, Enekhnes-Merire	344-349
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued from § 336)	350-354
Letter of Pepi II	350-354
I. Dates and Introduction	351
II. Acknowledgment of Harkhuf's Letter	351
III. Harkhuf's Rewards	352
IV. King's Instructions	353-354
Inscriptions of Pepi-Nakht	355-360
Inscriptions of Khui	361
Inscriptions of Sebni	362-374
Inscriptions of Ibi	375-379
Inscription of Zau	380-385
Reign of Ity	386-387
Hammamat Inscription	386-387
Reign of Imhotep	388-390
THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES	391-414
Inscriptions of Siut	391-414
I. Inscription of Tefibi	393-397
II. Inscription of Kheti I	398-404
III. Inscription of Kheti II	405-414

	§§
THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY	415-459
The Nomarch, Intef	419-420
Mortuary Stela	419-420
Reign of Horus-Wahenekh-Intef I	421-423
Royal Tomb Stela	421-423
Reign of Horus-Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II	423A-423G
Stela of Thethi	423A-423G
Reign of Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I	423H
Temple Fragments from Gebelen	423H
Reigns of Intef III and Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II	424-426
Relief near Assuan	424-426
Reign of Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III	427-433
Hammamat Inscription of Henu	427-433
Reign of Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV	434-459
Hammamat Inscriptions	434-459
I. The First Wonder	435-438
II. The Official Tablet	439-443
III. The Commander's Tablet	444-448
IV. The Second Wonder	449-451
V. Completion of the Work	452-456
Stela of Eti	457-459
THE TWELFTH DYNASTY	460-750
Chronology of Twelfth Dynasty	460-462
Reign of Amenemhet I	463-497
Inscription of Khnumhotep I	463-465
Hammamat Inscription of Intef	466-468
Inscription of Nessumontu	469-471
Inscription of Korusko	472-473
The Teaching of Amenemhet	474-483
Dedication Inscription	484-485
The Tale of Sinuhe	486-497
Reign of Sesostri I	498-593
The Building Inscription of the Temple of Heliopolis	498-506
Inscription of Meri	507-509
Wadi Halfa Inscription of Mentuhotep	510-514
Inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni)	515-523
Stela of Ikudidi	524-528
Inscription of Intefutah	529

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ix

	§§
Inscriptions of Mentuhotep	530-534
The Contracts of Hepzefi	535-538
I. First Contract	539-543
II. Second Contract	544-548
III. Third Contract	549-553
IV. Fourth Contract	554-558
V. Fifth Contract	559-567
VI. Sixth Contract	568-571
VII. Seventh Contract	572-575
VIII. Eighth Contract	576-581
IX. Ninth Contract	582-588
X. Tenth Contract	589-593
Reign of Amenemhet II	594-613
Inscription of Simontu	594-598
Inscription of Sihathor	599-605
Sinai Inscription	606
Stela of Khentemsemeti	607-613
Reign of Sesostris II	614-639
Inscription of Hapu	614-618
Inscription of Khnumhotep II	619-639
Reign of Sesostris III	640-748
The Conquest of Nubia	640-672
I. The Canal Inscriptions	642-649
I. First Inscription	643-645
II. Second Inscription	646-648
II. The Elephantine Inscription	649-650
III. The First Semneh Stela	651-652
IV. The Second Semneh Stela	653-660
V. Inscription of Ikhernofret	661-670
VI. Inscription of Sisatet	671-673
See also	676 ff. and 687
Hammamat Inscription	674-675
Stela of Sebek-Khu, called Zaa	676-687
Inscriptions of Thuthotep	688-706
Hammamat Inscriptions	707-712
Inscriptions of Sinai	713-738
I. Wadi Maghara	713-723

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	§§
II. Inscription of Harnakht	717-718
III. Inscription of Sebekdidi	719-720
IV. Inscription of Ameni	721-723
II. Sarbût el-Khâdem	724-738
I. Inscription of Sebek-hir-hab	725-727
II. Inscription of Ptahwer	728-729
III. Inscription of Amenemhet	730-732
IV. Inscription of Harurre	733-738
Turra Inscription	739-742
Inscription of Sehetepibre	743-748
Reign of Amenemhet IV	749-750
Kummeh Inscription	749
Sinai Inscriptions	750
FROM THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY TO THE HYKSOS	751-787
Reign of Sekhemre-Khutowe	751-752
Records of Nile-Levels	751-752
Reign of Neferhotep	753-772
Great Abydos Stela	753-765
Boundary Stela	766-772
Reign of Nubkheprure-Intef	773-780
Coptos Decree	773-780
Reign of Khenzer	781-787
Inscriptions of Ameniseneb	781-787

VOLUME II

	§§
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY	1-1043
Reign of Ahmose I	1-37
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana	1-3
I. Career under Ahmose I (ll. 1-24)	4-16
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29)	38-39
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39)	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet	17-25
I. Ahmose's Campaigns [Continued § 40]	18-20
II. Ahmose's Rewards	21-24
III. Ahmose's Summary	25

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

	§§
Quarry Inscription	26-28
Karnak Stela	29-32
Building Inscription	33-37
Reign of Amenhotep I	38-53
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana	38-39
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29)	38-53
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet	40-42
Career under Amenhotep I	40-42
Biography of Ineni	43-46
I. Career under Amenhotep I	44-46
II. Career under Thutmose I	99-108
III. Career under Thutmose II	115-118
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut	340-343
Stela of Harmini	47-48
Stela of Keres	49-52
Reign of Thutmose I	54-114
Coronation Decree	54-60
Biographical Inscription of Thure	61-66
Tombo's Stela	67-73
Inscriptions at the First Cataract	74-77
I. Sehel Inscription	75
II. Sehel Inscription	76
III. Assuan Inscription	77
Inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana	78-82
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39)	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet	83-85
Career under Thutmose I	83-85
Karnak Obelisks	86-89
Abydos Stela	90-98
Biography of Ineni	99-108
II. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 4-14)	99-108
Stela of Yuf	109-114
Reign of Thutmose II	115-127
Biography of Ineni	115-118
III. Career under Thutmose II	115-118
Assuan Inscription	119-122
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet	123-124

	§§
Campaign in Syria	125
The Ebony Shrine of Der el-Bahri	126-127
Reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut	128-390
Introduction	128-130
Inscription of the Coronation; Buildings and Offerings	131-166
Semneh Temple Inscriptions	167
I. Renewal of Sesostris III's List of Offerings	168-172
II. Dedication to Dedun and Sesostris III	173-176
Biography of Nebwawi	177
I. The Statue Inscription	178-183
II. Abydos Stela	184-186
The Birth of Queen Hatshepsut	187-191
I. The Council of the Gods	192
II. Interviews Between Amon and Thoth	193-194
III. Amon with Queen Ahmose	195-198
IV. Interview Between Amon and Khnum	199-201
V. Khnum Fashions the Child	202-203
VI. Interview Between Thoth and Queen Ahmose	204
VII. Queen Ahmose is Led to Confinement	205
VIII. The Birth	206-207
IX. Presentation of the Child to Amon	208
X. Council of Amon and Hathor	209
XI. The Nursing of the Child	210
XII. Second Interview of Amon and Thoth	211
XIII. The Final Scene	212
Statue of Enebni	213
Vase Inscription	214
The Coronation of Queen Hatshepsut	215
I. The Purification	216
II. Amon presents the Child to All the Gods	217-220
III. The Northern Journey	221-225
IV. Coronation by Atum	226-227
V. Reception of the Crowns and the Names	228-230
VI. Proclamation as King before Amon	231
VII. Coronation before the Court	232-239
VIII. Second Purification	240-241
IX. Concluding Ceremonies	242
Southern Pylon Inscription at Karnak	243-244

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xiii

	ii
The Punt Reliefs	246-295
I. Departure of the Fleet	252-253
II. Reception in Punt	254-258
III. The Traffic	259-262
IV. Loading the Vessels	263-265
V. The Return Voyage	266
VI. Presentation of the Tribute to the Queen by the Chiefs of Punt, Irem and Nemyew	267-269
VII. The Queen Offers the Gifts to Amon	270-272
VIII. Weighing and Measuring the Gifts to Amon	273-282
IX. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition before Amon	283-288
X. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition to the Court	289-295
Inscription of the Speos Artemidos	296-303
The Karnak Obelisks	304-307
I. Shaft Inscriptions; Middle Columns	308-311
II. Shaft Inscriptions; Side Columns	312-313
III. Base Inscription	314-321
Reliefs of Transportation of Obelisks	322
I. Transport	323-329
II. Reception in Thebes	330-335
III. Dedication of the Obelisks	336
Rock Inscription in Wadi Maghara	337
Building Inscription of Western Thebes	338-339
Biography of Ineni	340-343
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut	340-343
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet	344
Conclusion of Summary	344
Inscriptions of Senmut	345-368
I. Inscriptions on the Karnak Statue	349-358
II. Assuan Inscription	359-362
III. Inscriptions on the Berlin Statue	363-368
Inscription of Thutiy	369-378
Inscriptions of Puemre	379
I. Statue of Inscription	380-381
II. Tomb Inscriptions	382-387

	§§
Reign of Thutmose III	391-779
The Annals	391-405
The Annals: Conspectus of Campaigns	406
I. Introduction	407
II. First Campaign (Year 23)	408-443
Wadi Halfa Inscription	411-437
Fragment on the Siege of Megiddo	438-443
III. Second Campaign (Year 24)	444-449
IV. Third Campaign (Year 25)	450-452
V. Fourth Campaign	453
VI. Fifth Campaign (Year 29)	454-462
VII. Sixth Campaign (Year 30)	463-467
VIII. Seventh Campaign (Year 31)	468-475
IX. Eighth Campaign (Year 33)	476-487
X. Ninth Campaign (Year 34)	488-495
XI. Tenth Campaign (Year 35)	496-503
XII. Eleventh Campaign (Year 36)	504
XIII. Twelfth Campaign (Year 37)	505
XIV. Thirteenth Campaign (Year 38)	506-515
XV. Fourteenth Campaign (Year 39)	516-519
XVI. Fifteenth Campaign	520-523
XVII. Sixteenth Campaign	524-527
XVIII. Seventeenth Campaign	528-539
XIX. Conclusion	540
Feasts and Offerings from the Conquests	541-573
Biography of Amenemhab	574-592
Fragments of Karnak Pylon VII	593-598
Great Karnak Building Inscription	599-608
Building Inscription of the Karnak Ptah-Temple	609-622
Obelisks	623
I. Karnak Obelisks	624-625
II. Lateran Obelisks	626-628
III. Constantinople Obelisk	629-631
IV. London Obelisk	632-633
V. New York Obelisk	634-636
Medinet Habu Building Inscriptions	637-641
Heliopolis Building Inscriptions	642-643
Nubian Wars	644-651

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xv

	§§
I. Canal Inscription	649-650
II. Inscriptions of Nehi, Viceroy of Kush	651-652
III. Offerings from the South Countries	653-654
Hymn of Victory	655-662
Tomb of Rekhmire	663-759
I. Appointment of Rekhmire as Vizier	665-670
II. Duties of the Vizier	671-711
III. The Sitting of the Vizier	712-713
IV. Reception of Petitions	714-715
V. Inspection of Taxes of Upper Egypt	716
A. Above Thebes	717-728
B. Below Thebes	729-745
VI. Reception of Dues to the Amon-Temple	746-751
VII. Inspection of Daily Offerings and of Monuments	752
VIII. Inspection of Craftsmen	753-755
IX. Inspection of Sculptors and Builders	756-759
X. Reception of Foreign Tribute	760-761
XI. Accession of Amenhotep II	762
Stela of Intef the Herald	763-771
Tomb of Menkheperreseneb	772-776
Stela of Nibamon	777-779
Reign of Amenhotep II	780
Asiatic Campaign	780-798
I. Karnak Stela	781-790
II. Amâda and Elephantine Stelæ	791-798
III. Karnak Chapel	798A
Turra Inscription	799-800
Tomb of Amenken	801-802
Karnak Building Inscription	803-806
Biography of Amenemhab	807-809
Reign of Thutmose IV	810-840
Sphinx Stela	810-815
Asiatic Campaign	816-822
Konosso Inscription	823-829
Lateran Obelisk	830-838
Stela of Pe'aoke	839-840
Reign of Amenhotep III	841-931

	§§
Nubian War	842-855
I. Stela at First Cataract	843-844
II. Stela of Konosso	845
III. Bubastis Inscription	846-850
IV. Semneh Inscription	851-855
Tablet of Victory	856-859
The Commemorative Scarabs	860-869
I. Marriage with Tiy	861-862
II. Wild Cattle Hunt	863-864
III. Ten Years Lion-Hunting	865
IV. Marriage with Kirgipa	866-867
V. Construction of a Pleasure Lake	868-869
Jubilee Celebrations	870-874
Quarry and Mine Inscriptions	875-877
Building Inscription	878-892
I. Introduction (ll. 1-2)	882
II. Temple of the (Memnon) Colossi (ll. 2-10)	883-885
III. Luxor Temple and Connected Buildings	886-887
IV. Sacred Barge of Amon (ll. 16-20)	888
V. Third Pylon of Karnak (ll. 20-23)	889
VI. Temple of Soleb (ll. 23-26)	890
VII. Hymn of Amon to the King (ll. 26-31)	891-892
Building Inscriptions of the Soleb Temple	893-898
Great Inscription of the Third Karnak Pylon	899-903
Dedication Stela	904-910
I. Speech of the King (ll. 1-13)	905-908
II. Speech of Amon (ll. 14-20)	909
III. Speech of the Divine Ennead (ll. 20-24)	910
Inscriptions of Amenhotep, Son of Hapi	911-927
I. Statue Inscription	913-920
II. Mortuary Temple Edict	921-927
Statue of Nebnefer	928-931
Reign of Ikhnaton	932-1018
Quarry Inscription at Silsileh	932-935
Tomb of the Vizier Ramose	936-948
The Tell El-Amarna Landmarks	949-972
Assuan Tablet of the Architect Bek	973-976
The Tell El-Amarna Tombs	977-1018

	§§
I. Introduction (ll. 1-10)	49
II. Introduction: The King's Zeal for the Relief of the People (ll. 10-14)	50
III. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Royal Breweries and Kitchens (ll. 14-17)	51
IV. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Wood Due the Pharaoh (ll. 17-18)	52
V. Enactment Against Exacting Dues from a Poor Man Thus Robbed (ll. 18-20)	53
VI. Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Harem or the Gods by the Soldiers (ll. 20-24)	54
VII. Enactments Against Unlawful Appropriation of Slave Service (ll. 22-24)	55
VIII. Enactment Against Stealing of Hides by the Soldiers (ll. 25-28)	56-57
IX. Against Connivance of Dishonest Inspectors with Thievish Tax-Collectors, for a Share of the Booty (ll. 28-32)	58
X. Enactment Against Stealing Vegetables Under Pretense of Collecting Taxes (ll. 32-35)	59
XI. Enactments too Fragmentary for Analysis (ll. 35- 39) and Right Side (ll. 1, 2)	60-62
XII. Narrative of the King's Reforms, Containing Also an Enactment Against Corrupt Judges (ll. 3-7)	63-65
XIII. Narrative of the King's Monthly Audiences and Largesses (ll. 7-10)	66
XIV. Laudation of the King, and Conclusion (Left Side)	67
Tomb of Neferhotep	68-73
Reign of Ramses I	74-79
Wadi Halfa Stela	74-79
Reign of Seti I	80-250
Karnak Reliefs	80-156
Scene 1. March through Southern Palestine	83-84
Scene 2. Battle with the Shasu	85-86
Scene 3. Capture of Pekanan	87-88
Scene 4. Capture of Yenoam	80-00

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xix

	§§
Scene 5. Submission of the Chiefs of Lebanon	91-94
Scenes 6 and 7. Binding and Carrying Away Prisoners	95-97
Scene 8. Reception in Egypt	98-103
Scene 9. Presentation of Shasu Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon	104-108
Scene 10. Presentation of Syrian Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon	109-112
Scene 11. Slaying Prisoners Before Amon	113-119
Scene 12. First Battle with the Libyans	120-122
Scene 13. Second Battle with the Libyans	123-132
Scene 14. Return from Libyan War	133-134
Scene 15. Presentation of Libyan Prisoners and Spoil to Amon	135-139
Scene 16. Capture of Kadesh	140-141
Scene 17. Battle with the Hittites	142-144
Scene 18. Carrying off Hittite Prisoners	145-148
Scene 19. Presentation of Hittite Spoil and Prisoners to Amon	149-152
Scene 20. Slaying Prisoners before Amon	153-156
Wadi Halfa Stela	157-161
Inscriptions of Redesiyeh	162-198
I. First Inscription	169-174
II. Second Inscription	175-194
III. Third Inscription	195-198
Building Inscriptions	199-250
I. First Cataract Inscription	201-204
1. Assuan Inscription	201-202
2. Elephantine Stela	203-204
II. Silsileh Quarry Stela	205-208
III. Gebelên Quarry Inscription	209-210
IV. Mortuary Temple at Thebes (Kurna)	211-221
V. Temple of Karnak	222-224
VI. Mortuary Temple at Abydos	225-243
VII. Temple Model of Heliopolis	244-246
VIII. Miscellaneous	247-250
Reign of Ramses II	251-568
Great Abydos Inscription	251-281

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	§§
The Asiatic War	294-391
I. Beginning of the Hittite War	296-351
I. First Campaign	297
II. Second Campaign: The Battle of Kadesh	298-351
a. Poem of the Battle of Kadesh	305-315
b. Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh	316-327
c. The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh.	328
I. The Council of War	329-330
II. The Camp	331-332
III. Ramses' Messengers	333-334
IV. The Battle	335-338
V. The Defense of the Camp	339-340
VI. After the Battle	341-347
VII. Presentation of Captives to Amon	348-351
III. Palestinian Revolt	352-362
I. Reconquest of Southern Palestine	353-355
II. Reconquest of Northern Palestine	356-362
IV. Campaign in Naharin	363-391
I. Conquest of Naharin	364-366
II. Treaty with the Hittites	367-391
Relations of Egypt with the Hittites after the War	392-491
I. The Blessing of Ptah	394-414
II. Marriage Stela	415-424
III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode	425-426
IV. Coptos Stela	427-428
V. Bentresh Stela	429-447
Nubian Wars and References to Northern Wars	448-491
I. Abu Simbel Temple	449-457
II. Bet el-Walli Temple	458-477
III. Assuan Stela	478-479
IV. Luxor Temple	480-484
V. Abydos Temple	485-486
VI. Tanis Stelæ	487-491
Building Inscriptions	492-537
I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel.	495-499
II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel.	500-501
III. Temple of Serreh	502

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxi

	§§
IV. Temple of Derr	503
V. Temple of Sebû ^c a	504
VI. Temple of el Kab	505
VII. Temple of Luxor	506-508
VIII. Temple of Karnak	509-513
IX. The Ramesseum	514-515
X. Temple of Kurna	516-522
XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos	
Inscription	262-267
XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos	524-529
XIII. Memphis Temples	530-537
1. Great Abydos Inscription (l. 22)	260
2. Blessing of Ptah (ll. 32, 35)	412-413
XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah (ll. 16-18)	406
Stela of the Year 400	538-542
Royal Jubilee Inscriptions	543-560
I. First Gebel Silsileh Inscription	552
II. Bigeh Inscription	553
III. Second Gebel Silsileh Inscription	554
IV. Third Gebel Silsileh Inscription	555
V. Fourth Gebel Silsileh Inscription	556
VI. Sehel Inscription	557
VII. El Kab Inscription	558
VIII. Fifth Gebel Silsileh Inscription	559
IX. Sixth Gebel Silsileh Inscription	560
Inscription of Beknekhonsu	561-568
Reign of Merneptah	569-638
The Invasion of Libyans and Mediterranean Peoples	569-617
I. The Great Karnak Inscription	572-592
II. The Cairo Column	593-595
III. The Athribis Stela	596-601
IV. The Hymn of Victory	602-617
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Roy	618-628
Daybook of a Frontier Official	629-635
Letter of a Frontier Official	636-638
Reign of Siptah	639-650
.....	650-650

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES		PAGE
Fig. 1. Plan of the Reliefs of Seti I, on the North Wall of the Great Hall of Karnak		39
Fig. 2. Seti I on the Route through Southern Palestine (Scene 1)		44
Fig. 3. Showing Two Superimposed Figures		61
Fig. 4. Inserted Figure of "First King's-Son"		61
Fig. 5. An Unknown Prince Following the Chariot of Seti I (Scene 14)		66
Fig. 6. Figure of an Unknown Prince Inserted in a Fragmentary Scene (§ 130)		66
Fig. 7. Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh		126
Fig. 8. March to Kadesh: First Positions		128
Fig. 9. Battle of Kadesh: Second Positions		130
Fig. 10. Battle of Kadesh: Third Positions		130
Fig. 11. Battle of Kadesh: Fourth Positions		130
Fig. 12. Battle of Kadesh: Fifth Positions		130
Fig. 13. The Modern Mound of Kadesh		152

VOLUME IV

		§§
THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY		1-603
Reign of Ramses III		1-456
Medinet Habu Temple.		1-150
Building and Dedication Inscriptions		1-20
Historical Inscriptions		21-138
I. Treasury of Medinet Habu Temple		25-34
II. First Libyan War, Year 5		35-58
1. Great Inscription in the Second Court (Year 5)		36-58
III. Northern War, Year 8.		59-82
1. Great Inscription on the Second Pylon, Year 8.		61-68
2. Relief Scenes Outside North Wall and in Second Court, Year 8		69-82
IV. Second Libyan War		82-114

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxiii

	§§
1. Great Inscription on the First Pylon (Medinet Habu)	85-92
2. Poem on Second Libyan War	93-99
3. Relief Scenes on First Pylon and Outside North Wall (Medinet Habu)	100-114
4. Papyrus Harris	405
V. The Syrian War	115-135
VI. The Nubian War	136-138
Medinet Habu Temple Calendar	139-145
Act of Endowment of the Temples of Khnum	146-150
Papyrus Harris	151-412
Discussion of	151-181
Content:	
I. Introduction	182-183
II. Theban Section	184-246
III. Heliopolitan Section	247-304
IV. Memphite Section	305-351
V. General Section (Small Temples)	352-382
VI. Summary	383-396
VII. Historical Section	397-412
Record of the Royal Jubilee	413-415
Records of the Harem Conspiracy	416-456
I. Appointment of the Court	423-424
II. The Condemned of the First Prosecution	425-443
III. The Condemned of the Second Prosecution	444-445
IV. The Condemned of the Third Prosecution	446-450
V. The Condemned of the Fourth Prosecution	451-452
VI. The Acquitted	453
VII. The Practicers of Magic	454-456
Reign of Ramses IV	457-472
Hamamat Stela	457-468
I. The First Stela	457-460
II. The Second Stela	461-468
Abydos Stela	469-471
Building Inscription of the Khonsu Temple	472
Reign of Ramses V	473
Tomb Dedication	473

	§§
Tomb of Penno	474-483
Reign of Ramses VII	484-485
Stela of Hori	484-485
Reign of Ramses IX	486-556
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Amenhotep	486-498
I. Building Inscriptions	488-491
II. Records of Rewards	492-498
The Records of the Royal Tomb-Robberies	499-556
I. Papyrus Abbott	509-535
II. Papyrus Amherst	536-541
III. Turin Fragment	542-543
IV. Mayer Papyri	544-556
Reign of Ramses XII	557-603
The Report of Wenamon	557-591
Records of the Restoration of the Royal Mummies	592-594
Letter to the Viceroy of Kush	595-600
Building Inscriptions in the Temple of Khonsu	601-603
THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY	604-692
The Twenty-First Dynasty	604-607
Reign of Hrihor	608-626
Inscriptions of the Temple of Khonsu	608-626
Reign of Nesubenebde	627-630
Gebelên Inscription	627-630
Reign of the High Priest and King Paynozem I	631-649
I. Paynozem I as High Priest	631-635
Building Inscriptions	631-635
Records on the Royal Mummies	636-642
II. Paynozem I as King	643 ff.
Records on the Royal Mummies	643-647
Building Inscriptions	648-649
High Priesthood of Menkheperre	650-661
Stela of the Banishment	650-658
Record of Restoration	659
Karnak Graffito	660
Records on the Royal Mummies	661
High Priesthood of Paynozem II	662-687
Records on the Priestly Mummies	662-663
Records on the Royal Mummies	664-665

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxv

	§§
Record of Paynozem II's Burial	668
Stela of the "Great Chief of Me," Sheshonk	669-687
High Priesthood of Pesibkhenno	688-692
Records on Mummy-Wrappings	688
Burial of Nesikhonsu	689
Records on the Royal Mummies	690-692
THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY	693-792
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak	693-698
Reign of Sheshonk I	699-728
Records on Mummy-Bandages of Zeptahefonekh	699-700
Building Inscription	701-708
Great Karnak Relief	709-722
Presentation of Tribute	723-724
Karnak Stela	724A
Dakhel Stela	725-728
Reign of Osorkon I	729-737
Record of Temple Gifts	729-737
Reign of Takelot I	738-740
Statue of the Nile-God Dedicated by the High Priest, Sheshonk	738-740
Reign of Osorkon II.	742-751
Flood Inscription	742-744
Statue Inscription	745-747
Jubilee Inscriptions	748-751
Reign of Takelot II	752-755
Graffito of Harsiese	752-754
Stela of Kerome	755
Reign of Sheshonk III	756-777
Annals of the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon	756-770
I. East of Door	760-761
II. West of Door	762-770
First Serapeum Stela of Pediese	771-774
Record of Installation	775-777
Reign of Pemou.	778-781
Second Serapeum Stela of Pediese	778-781
Reign of Sheshonk IV	782-792

	§§
Serapeum Stela of Harpeson	785-792
THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY.	793-883
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak	793-794
Reign of Osorkon III	795
Will of Yewelot	795
Reign of Piankhi	796-883
The Piankhi Stela.	796-883
THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY	884
Reign of Bocchoris	884
Serapeum Stelæ	884
THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY	885-934
Records of the Nile-Levels at Karnak	885-888
Reign of Shabaka	889
Building Inscription	889
Reign of Taharka	892-918
Tanis Stela	892-896
Building Inscription in Large Cliff-Temple of Napata	897-900
Inscription of Mentemhet	901-916
Serapeum Stela	917-918
Reign of Tanutamon	919-934
Stela of Tanutamon	919-934
THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY	935-1029
Reign of Psamtik I	935-973
Adoption Stela of Nitocris	935-958
Statue Inscription of the Chief Steward, Ibe	958A-958M
First Serapeum Stela	959-962
Second Serapeum Stela	963-966
Statue Inscription of Hor	967-973
Reign of Necho	974-980
Serapeum Stela	974-979
Building Inscription	980
Reign of Psamtik II.	981-983
Statue Inscription of Neferibre-Nofer	981-983
Reign of Apries	984-995
Serapeum Stela	984-988
Stela of the Divine Consort Enekhnesneferibre	988A-988J
Inscription of Nesuhor	988-989

TABLE OF CONTENTS		xxvii
		§§
Reign of Amasis (Ahmose II).	. . . . .	996-1029
Elephantine Stela . . . . .	. . . . .	996-1007
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	. . . . .	1008-1012
Statue Inscription of the General Ahmose . . . . .	. . . . .	1013-1014
Statue Inscription of Pefnefdineit . . . . .	. . . . .	1015-1025
Mortuary Stelæ of the Priest Psamtik . . . . .	. . . . .	1026-1029
LIST OF FIGURES		PAGE
Plan of Scenes and Inscriptions in Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .	. . . . .	5
INDEX . . . . .	. . . . .	521

EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF AHMOSE I

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA^a

1. This inscription contains the biography of a naval officer, Ahmose, a nobleman of El Kab, who served with distinction under three successive kings: Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I, his father having served under the predecessor of Ahmose I, Sekenenre. It is especially important, because it is our only contemporary source for the expulsion of the Hyksos, and forms, with the biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§§ 17 ff.), our only source for the wars of the early Eighteenth Dynasty; for the royal records of this critical period have totally perished. The family of nomarchs at El Kab^b were strong supporters of the rising dynasty, and it is clear that such loyalty was liberally rewarded with the gifts of slaves and land,^c of which both the El Kab Ahmoses boast. It was by thus cementing a firm friendship with such local nobility that the first kings

^aOn the wall of Ahmose's cliff-tomb at El Kab; in two parts: the first, of 31 lines on the right-hand wall, and the second, of 8 lines, on the door-wall at the left of door. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 655-57, only 26 lines, and very inaccurate; first completely published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 12, *a* and *d*; thence inaccurately copied by Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Pl. 6, omitting *d*; and equally incorrectly, Lemm, *Lesestücke*, 67; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 732, 733 (beginning only). I have collated the excellent Berlin squeeze (No. 172), which mostly sustains Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, but furnishes some important corrections. Valuable discussion of difficult passages by Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 256-58, and *Sphinx*, III, 7-12.

^bThe family is far older than the Empire, and already under the Thirteenth Dynasty enjoyed the favor of the king (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 14, *b*); but it is impossible to trace the line back of Ahmose, son of Ebana's grandmother.

^cA boundary stone marking one limit of such a gift by Thutmose I was acquired by the Berlin Museum in 1899. It reads: "Southern boundary of the fields given as a favor of the royal presence, to the orderly (snn) of his majesty, Nekri (Nkry); ... dat." See a similar tablet in Mariette *Monuments divers* 47A under Thut-

of the Eighteenth Dynasty maintained themselves during their long and exhausting wars. The royal children were even intrusted to these El Kab princes, to be reared under their charge,^a and they finally ruled from El Kab to Esneh.^b

2. The ten campaigns in which Ahmose took part are treated in the respective reigns under which they fall, as follows:

I. Career under Ahmose I, ll. 1-24 (§§ 4 ff.).

II. Career under Amenhotep I, ll. 24-29 (§§ 38 ff.).

III. Career under Thutmose I, ll. 29-39 (§§ 78 ff.).

3. The immediate authorship of the inscription is established by the neighboring relief. Ahmose is represented as standing at the left, and before him is his grandson, Pahri (*P³-hry*), accompanied by the following words:

By the son of his daughter the conductor of the works in this tomb, perpetuating the name of the father of his mother, the draughtsman^c of Amon, Pahri,^d triumphant.

The long inscription was therefore executed by Ahmose's grandson, Pahri, who was a draughtsman.

I. CAREER UNDER AHMOSE I

[Ll. 1-24; continued §§ 38 ff.]

4. After an introduction and a few words about his youth and parentage, Ahmose plunges directly into his first

^aSee *Tomb of Pahri*, "Eleventh Memoir," Egyptian Exploration Fund, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 10, b and 11, b.

^bPahri, grandson of Ahmose, son of Ebana, was "*prince of Esneh (Yny't), governor of the southern lands (ḥ't), satisfying the excellent heart of his lord from the House of Hathor to El Kab.*" Tylor, *Tomb of Pahri*, Pl. III.

^cSee Goodwin, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 21.

^dHis tomb is the most interesting one at El Kab; see *The Tomb of Pahri at El Kab*, G. Maspero, "Eleventh Memoir" of *Égypte*, Paris, 1881, p. 10.

campaign, with an account of a siege of the city of Hatwaret (*ht-w^c r·t*). This can be no other than the city called Avaris by Manetho (Josephus, *Contra Apion*, I, 14), where, according to him, the Hyksos make their last stand in Egypt.^a It is also mentioned as the residence of the Asiatics (*ḥ^c ṁw*, § 303, l. 37) by Hatshepsut, and by a papyrus of the late Nineteenth Dynasty,^b as the residence of an Apophis; so that there is no doubt about the identification with Avaris. The siege, which must have lasted many years, was interrupted by the rebellion of some disaffected noble in Upper Egypt; but the city was finally captured, and the Hyksos, fleeing into Asia, were pursued to the city of Sharuhēn (Josh. 19:6). Here they were besieged for six years by Ahmose I, and this stronghold was also captured. It was probably at the conclusion of this siege that Ahmose I pushed northward and invaded Syria, as narrated by Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§ 20), probably still in pursuit of the last remnants of the Hyksos.

5. The king now returned, and carried his army to the other extreme of his domain, invading Nubia. He was recalled from a successful campaign there, to quell two successive rebellions, the last of the internal dissensions which had distracted the country since the fall of the Middle Kingdom. At this point the wars, and probably the reign, of Ahmose I closed, Ahmose, son of Ebana, having gained distinction in all his campaigns.

^aAccording to *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report* (1900-1901, 13), there is in Cairo a stela containing a reference to this war with the Hyksos, but I have been unable to gain any information concerning it. It is probably § 30.

^bSallier I, 1-3; it contains a folk-tale narrating the cause of the war between a Hyksos king, Apophis in Avaris, and a Sekenenre, who was ruler (*ḥk*) in Thebes. Unfortunately, only the beginning is preserved. Most of the current translations and interpretations of this document are largely the products of a vivid imagina-

Introductory Address

6. ¹Chief of the sailors, Ahmose (*Y^c ḥ-mš*), son of Ebana (*ʔ-b^ʔ-n^ʔ*), triumphant; ²he says: "I will tell you, O all ye people; I will cause you to know the honors which came to me. I was presented with gold seven times^a in the presence ³of the whole land; male and female slaves likewise. I was endowed with very many fields." The fame of one valiant in his achievements shall not perish ⁴in this land forever.^b

His Youth

7. He speaks as follows: "I spent my youth in the city of Nekheb^c (*Nḥb*), my father being an officer of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekenenre (*Sḫnyn R^c-*), triumphant, Baba (*B^ʔ b^ʔ*), ⁵son of Royenet, (*R^ʔ-yn^ʔ t*), was his name. Then I served as an officer in his stead, in the ship 'The Offering' in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtire (*Nb-pḥty-R^c*, Ahmose I), triumphant, ⁶while I was (still) young, not having taken a wife,^d and while I was still sleeping in the ⁷garment.^e Then after I set up a household, I was transferred ⁷to the northern fleet, because of my valor. I followed the king on foot^f when he rode abroad in his ⁸chariot.

Campaign against the Hyksos; Siege of Avaris

8. One besieged the city of Avaris (*Ḥt-w^c r^c t*); I showed valor on foot^f before his majesty; then I was appointed ⁹to (the ship) 'Shining-in-Memphis.'^g

^aAhmose has recorded elsewhere in his tomb (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 12, c) a list of the gifts he received, making a total of 9 men and 10 women; the total of land is lost. This does not agree with his narrative, which does not summarize, but in different gifts mentions in all 9 men and 7 women received from the king, and 8 men and 7 women captured.

^bThis last statement is probably a proverbial phrase; see Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XXVI, 41, 42.

^cEl Kab.

^dSee Müller, *Liebespoesie*, 3.

^eThis is, of course, some garment worn by a youth; cf. the girdle of Uni's youth (I, 294, l. 1).

^fLit., "on my two feet," this is emphasized as land service, Ahmose being a naval officer.

§ 12] BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA

7

Second Battle of Avaris

9. One fought on the water in the canal: Pezedku (*P³-ddkw*) of Avaris. Then I fought hand to hand, ¹⁰I brought away a hand.^a It was reported to the royal herald. One gave to me the gold of valor.^b

Third Battle of Avaris

10. Then there was again fighting in this place; I again fought hand to hand ¹¹there; I brought away a hand. One gave to me the gold of bravery in the second place.^c

First Rebellion, Interrupting Siege of Avaris

11. One fought in this Egypt,^d south of this city; ¹²then I brought away a living captive, a man; I descended into the water; behold, he was brought^e as a seizure upon the road of this ¹³city,^e (‘although’) I crossed with him over the water. It was announced to the royal herald. Then one presented^f me with gold in double measure.^g

Capture of Avaris

12. One ¹⁴captured Avaris; I took captive there one man and three women, total four heads, his majesty gave them to me for slaves.^h

^aCut off as a trophy, from a slain enemy.

^bReward after the second battle.

^cReward after the third battle.

^dThere can be no doubt that the word (*km't*) means here, as always elsewhere, “Egypt;” “this city” is then El Kab, for the word “south” is an adjective feminine agreeing with “Egypt.” The phrase can only be translated into a language like Greek or German, thus: “in diesem südlich von dieser Stadt befindlichen Aegypten.” The siege of Avaris is therefore interrupted by a rebellion in upper Egypt, similar to the two later ones (§§ 15, 16), and for this reason the narrative particularly specifies “this Egypt, south, etc.” See also § 13, l. 15.

^eContrast with this the two men “captured as a seizure upon the ship of the enemy” (l. 21). There is no ground for the fanciful rendering, indicating that he lost his way! Ahmose means that, although obliged to descend to and cross over the water (of some canal) with his prisoner, he brought him away as safely as one seized upon the road of the city.

^fRead *hr* for *myk* (confusion from hieratic?), as in l. 28.

^gReward after the fourth battle.

^hReward after the fifth battle; apparently Avaris was captured on the fourth assault; but these brief references to fighting may each one indicate a whole season of the siege, which would then have lasted four years, as that of Sharuhen lasted

Siege of Sharuhen

13. ¹⁵One besieged Sharuhen^a (*Šꜣ-rꜣ-hꜣ-nꜣ*) for 6 years,^b (and) his majesty took it. Then I took captive there two women and one hand. ¹⁶One gave me the gold of bravery, 'besides' giving me the captives for slaves.

Campaign against Nubia

14. Now, after his majesty had slain the Asiatics (*Mntyw Stt*), ¹⁷he ascended the river to Khenthennofer (*Hnt-hn-nfr*), to destroy the Nubian Troglodytes;^c his majesty made a great slaughter among them. ¹⁸Then I took captive there, two living men, and three hands. One presented me with gold in double measure, 'besides' giving to me two female slaves.^d ¹⁹His majesty sailed down-stream, his heart joyous with the might of victory, (for) he had seized Southerners and Northerners.

Second Rebellion

15. ²⁰There came an enemy of the South; his fate, his destruction approached; the gods of the South seized him, and his majesty found him in Tintto-emu (*Tynt-tꜣ-ꜣmw*).^e His majesty carried him off ²¹a living prisoner, and all his people carried captive. I carried away two

^aCf. Josh. 19:6.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, has "5," which has been generally accepted; Champollion's text and Brugsch's translation have "6." I repeatedly examined the squeeze for this point with especial care; it has a clear "6." The correctness of the rendering "for 6 years" rather than "in the year 6" has been clearly demonstrated by Piehl (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 258). Another proof is that *m*, the preposition here, is used all through the Beknekhonsu inscription (Munich) for "during" or "for" a period of years. This throws a new light on the whole Asiatic campaign, for the stubbornness of the besieged and the persistence of Ahmose are almost certainly an indication that the siege is an extension of the campaign against the Hyksos, who, having retreated to Sharuhen, are here making their last stand. We may suppose, therefore, that the siege of Avaris itself also lasted many years, allowing opportunity for a rebellion in Upper Egypt. See § 11, l. 11.

^cCf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 21.

^dThese slaves being women, are not the two captives just taken, as the translations of Renouf and Petrie indicate.

^eLit., "She of the land of the water-supply" (*ꜣmw*, "water-supply," occurs at Siut, I, 407, l. 6, and in Rekhmire, § 698, l. 25); possibly the district of the first cataract is meant, as the rebellion was in the South. The name is elsewhere

archers^a as a seizure in the ship of the enemy;^b one ²²gave to me five heads besides pieces of land (amounting to) five stat (*stꜣt*)^c in my city.^d It was done to all the sailors likewise.

Third Rebellion

16. Then came that fallen one,^e ²³whose name was Teti-en (*Tty-^cn*);^f he had gathered to himself rebels.^g His majesty slew him and his servants,^h annihilatingⁱ them. There were given ²⁴to me three heads, and fields (amounting to) five stat^j in my city.

[Continued §§ 38 ff.]

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET

17. This El Kab nobleman, like Ahmose, son of Ebana (§§ 1–16), served under the first kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but he lived to a greater age. Beginning his career under Ahmose I, he continued under Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, II, and III, and died enjoying the favor of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. He has separated his

^aThis hitherto uncertain word (*mygꜣ*) is rendered tolerably certain by a scene in the tomb of Harmhab (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, Pl. III, foll. p. 434; see also 420), where it bears the determinative of shooting, and stands over a man with a bow, with the title “*chief archer (mygꜣ) of his majesty*.”

^bThe determinative indicates an enemy, not a proper name, but the meaning of the word (*ꜣꜣtꜣ*) is unknown. The rendering “fiévreux” from Chabas is based on an impossible etymology. See Piehl, *Sphinx*, III, 11.

^cA land measure containing about seven-tenths acres, here in apposition with “*pieces of land*.”

^dEl Kab.

^eTerm of contempt for a foe.

^fThere is no reason for supposing that this is not the rebel's real name. On the contrary, this very name was especially common at this period; see the ushebtis published by Borchardt (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 32, pp. 113 f.).

^gLit., “*the wicked of heart*.”

^hWritten feminine(!) in the text.

ⁱLit., “*as that which exists not*.”

^jA land measure containing about seven-tenths of an acre, here in apposition

biography into three parts: his campaigns,^a his rewards,^b and a summary.^c

I. AHMOSE'S CAMPAIGNS^d

[Continued § 40]

18. He enumerates his campaigns and his captures under Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I and II.

I. Career under Ahmose I

19. His meager reference to a campaign of Ahmose I in Zahi is our sole source of knowledge for that event. It probably followed the capture of Sharuhen.

Campaign in Syria

20. 1Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal,^e chief treasurer, herald 1of his Lord,^f —1, 2gAhmose, called Pen-Nekhbet (*Pn-Nḥb·t*), triumphant; he says: "I followed King Nebpehtire (*Nb-pḥty-R* ^c, Ahmose I), triumphant. 3I captured for him in Zahi (*Dꜣ-hy*) a living prisoner and a hand."

[Continued § 40]

^aCampaigns, three originals: (1) statue-base belonging to Mr. Finlay, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 77, 78; (2) statue-base in the Louvre, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIV A; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, IV; (3) Ahmose's tomb-wall at El Kab, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a (lower left-hand corner), and Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85. All sources have been collated.

^bRewards, two originals: (1) statue-base belonging to Mr. Finlay, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 78; (2) statue-base in the Louvre, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIV B; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, IV.

^cSummary, Ahmose's tomb-wall in El Kab, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a, ll. 10-20; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85, corrected and revised; and partially, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 46.

^dThe translation of the campaigns is distributed under the different reigns, under which he lived, because they furnish very important historical events, but his rewards and the summary, being more purely personal, are given in this reign.

^eAll except the Finlay text insert other titles here, but, except the first, "sole companion," they are illegible.

^fAll the other texts have *whm kf* ^c, which would mean "repeating captures." This unusual title was also in the rewards (l. 4).

II. AHMOSE'S REWARDS

21. ¹.....².....³.....⁴...^a Ahmose, called Pen-Nekhbet; he says: "By the ⁵sovereign, who lives forever! I was not separated from the king upon the battlefield, from (the time of) ⁶King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant, to King Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant; I was in the favor ⁷of the king's presence, until King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), living forever.^b

22. King Zeserkere (Amenhotep I), triumphant, gave to me, ⁸of gold: two bracelets, two necklaces, an armlet, a dagger, a headdress, a fan, and a mekhtebet.

23. ⁹King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, gave to me, of gold: two bracelets, four necklaces, one armlet, six flies,^c ¹⁰three lions;^d two golden axes.

24. King Okhepernere (Thutmose II),^e triumphant, gave to me of gold: three bracelets, six necklaces, three armlets, a mekhtebet; a silver axe."

III. AHMOSE'S SUMMARY^f

25. ^{10g}He says, "I followed the Kings ¹¹of Upper and Lower Egypt, the gods; I was with ¹²their majesties when they went to the South and North country, in every place where they went; [from] ¹³King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant, King Zeserkere (Amenhotep I) [triumphant], King ¹⁴Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, King

^aUnimportant titles of Ahmose (see § 20, l. 1) very fragmentary; lines are numbered according to text in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*.

^bThis phrase shows that Thutmose III is still alive at this time, but Ahmose is now too old to be "upon the battlefield," under him.

^cThese are golden flies, like those among Ahhotep's jewelry at Cairo. They were a decoration of honor. The word has been mistranslated "helmets." See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1900, pp. 94, 95.

^dCf. inscription of Amenemhab, § 585.

^eFinlay text, according to Maspero's copy, has Thutmose I; corrected by Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 239, n. 1, as above.

^fAhmose's tomb-wall in El Kab; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a, ll. 10-20; *ibid.*, Text, IV, 46; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85, corrected and revised, most of the lacunæ restored from Lepsius' papers and his squeeze.

^gThe summary does not begin until l. 10; ll. 1 and 2 contain an adoration of Ra by Ahmose and his titles occupy ll. 3-6. These 6 lines lack half their

Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant, until this Good God, King Menkheperre (Thutmose III) ¹⁵who is given life forever.^a

I have attained a good old age, having ¹⁶had a life^b of royal favor, having had^b honor under their majesties and the love of me having been in the court."

[Concluded in § 344]

QUARRY INSCRIPTION^c

26. The inscription records the work of Neferperet, an official of Ahmose I, who, in the latter's twenty-second year, took out stone from the Ma^c sara quarry, for the temples of Ptah and of Amon. The inscription is important, because it is the last dated document of Ahmose I, because it records the first resumption of building after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and for its reference to the Fenkhu, whose cattle were captured on some Asiatic campaign.

Above, in a position of significant prominence in the queen's case, are the names and titles of Ahmose I, and his queen, Ahmose-Nefretiri (*Y^c h-mš, nfr t-ry*).

27. ¹Year 22 under the majesty of the king, Son of Re, Ahmose, who is given life. ²The quarry-chambers were opened a[ne]w; good limestone ³of Ayan (*c nw*) was taken out for his temples of myriads of [years],^d the temple of Ptah, the temple of Amon in southern Opet (*Y p t*, Luxor), and all the monuments which his majesty made ¹for him¹.

^aThis phrase after Thutmose III's name shows that he was living at the time of this inscription; all the others were at this time "triumphant" (deceased). Hence Ahmose, now an old man, died under Thutmose III.

^bLit., "having been in a life," and "having been in honor."

^cOn the wall of the limestone quarry of Ma^c sara, just southeast of Cairo. Published by Vyse, *Operations*, III, 99; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 88; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, a = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 488 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, I, 15; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, b; the text of the last is the same as the preceding, but it represents a second inscription. Both are badly broken, but they supplement each other, so that practically nothing is lost.

^dA conventional phrase applied to all temples, and referring, of course, to

The stone was dragged with oxen^a which his m[ajesty] captured [in his] victories [among]^b the Fenkhu (*Fnhw*).

28. The assistant, the hereditary prince ———, 'vigilant'^c one of the Lord of the Two Lands in restoring the monuments of e[ternity], greatly [satisfying] the heart of the Good God; the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Neferperet (*Njr-pr't*).

KARNAK STELA^d

29. Among Ahmose's pious works for the temples was the restoration of the furniture, utensils, and the like, belonging to the ritual of the Karnak temple of Amon. He recorded this work upon a splendid stela, containing thirty-two lines of inscription, of which only the last six are devoted to the record of his benefactions, while the other twenty-six contain only conventional eulogy of himself. In the course of this tedious succession of phrases, there is a vague reference to his wars:

30. The Asiatics approach with fearful step together, standing at his judgment-hall; his sword is in Khenthennofer, his terror is in the Fenkhu-lands, the fear of his majesty is in this land like Min (l. 12).

31. He was thus as much feared in Egypt as in Nubia or Asia. The introduction closes with the names of Ahmose I and the queen Ahhotep, after which follows the record of the work in Karnak (ll. 27-32):

^aIt is not the Fenkhu themselves who are employed in the quarry (as sometimes stated, e. g., Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 93; also Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 36), but only the oxen captured.

^bThe horizontal lines in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, a, l. 5, indicate an *m* = "in," or "among;" indeed, the entire phrase, "which his majesty captured in his victories in —," is so common that the restorations are probable.

^c[*Rš*]-*ḏ* *ḏ*, lit., "of watchful head."

^dA white limestone stela over 7½ feet high and nearly 3½ feet wide; found by Tchernay by Pylon VII at Karnak. It was below the pavement of Thutmose III,

32. Now, his majesty commanded to make monuments for his father Amon-Re, being; great chaplets of gold with rosettes of genuine lapis lazuli; seals^a of gold; large vases (*hs·t*) of gold; jars (*nms·t*) and vases (*hs·t*) of silver; tables (*wḏh·w*) of gold, offering-tables (*dbḥ·t ḥtp*) of gold and silver; necklaces of gold and silver combined with lapis lazuli and malachite; a drinking-vessel for the ka, of gold, its standard of silver; a drinking-vessel for the ka, of silver rimmed with gold, its standard of silver; a flat dish (*tnyw*) of gold; jars (*nms·t*) of pink granite, filled with ointment; great pails (*wšmw*)^b of silver rimmed with gold, the [handles] thereon of silver; a harp of ebony,^c of gold and silver; sphinxes of silver; a ṛ—^d with gold; a barge of the “Beginning-of-the-River” called “Userhetamon,”^e of new cedar of the best of the terraces, in order to make his voyage [therein]. I erected columns of ṛcedar — —^f likewise; I gave ———.

BUILDING INSCRIPTION^f

33. This document discloses to us the name of the mother of Ahmose I's father and mother. She was a queen Tetisheri, and although she is called a “*king's-mother and great king's-wife*,” she is not designated as king's daughter. She was doubtless the wife of the last Sekenenre, and her daughter Ahmose I's mother, was, of course, the famous Queen Ahhotep. The latter's brother-husband, the father of Ahmose I, was probably Kemose.

^aOr: “*seal rings*.”

^bThese are the ceremonial pails with bucket handles, swelling or bulbous below, with more or less pointed bottom. Schaefer calls my attention to the example on the Ethiopian stela in the Louvre, l. 11 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, Pl. V). There are many examples in bronze in the museums.

^cI suspect that a word has been omitted at this point, as the repetition of the preposition indicates.

^d*Špt*, Schaefer suggests the *spd* which appears in the Mentuhotep coffin at Berlin.

^eMeaning “*mighty is the front of Amon*.” This is the usual name of the sacred barge of Amon.

^fStela about 6½ feet high and 3 feet wide, found by Petrie at Abydos; pub-

The inscription is so picturesque, and unconventional in form, as to be unique. In content it records the king's determination to erect further mortuary buildings for his grandmother, Queen Tetisheri.

Introduction

34. ¹Now, it came to pass that his majesty sat in the audience-hall, (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire, Son of Re, Ahmose (I), given life; ²while the hereditary princess, great in favor, great in amiability, king's-daughter, king's-sister, divine consort, great king's-wife, Ahmose-Nefretiri, who liveth, was with his majesty.

The Conversation

35. One spoke ³with the other, seeking benefactions for^a the departed (dead), to present libations of water, to offer upon the altar, ⁴to enrich the offering-tablet at the first of every season, at the monthly feast of the first of the month, the feast of the coming forth of the sem, ⁵the feast of the night-offerings on the fifth of the month, the feast of the sixth of the month, the feast of Hakro^b (*H ʔ k-r ʔ*), the feast of Wag (*W ʔ g*), the feast of Thoth, and at the first ⁶of every season of heaven, and of earth. His sister spake and answered him: "Wherefore has this been remembered? ⁷And why has this word been spoken? What has come into thy heart?"

Ahmose's Purpose

36. The king himself spake to her: "I, ⁸it is, who have remembered the mother of my mother, and the mother of my father, great king's-wife and king's-mother, Tetisheri (*Tty-šry*), triumphant. ⁹(Although) she already has a tomb (*yš*) and a mortuary chapel^c (*m ʔ h ʔ t*) on the soil of Thebes and Abydos, I have said this to thee, in that ¹⁰my majesty has desired to have made for her (also) a pyramid and a house (*h ʔ t*) in

^aThe negative *n* is to be read as the preposition *n*; see the converse confusion in l. 14.

^bThe *r ʔ* has been overlooked in the publication?

^cLit., "*Her tomb and her chapel are at this moment (m ty (sic!) ʔ t) on the soil, etc.*" I can only understand this clause as concessive, and that the new buildings

Tazeser, as a monumental donation of my majesty. Its lake shall be dug, its trees shall be planted, ¹¹its offerings shall be founded, equipped with people, endowed with lands, presented ¹²with herds, mortuary priests and ritual priests having their duties, every man knowing his stipulation.”

37. ¹³Lo, his majesty spake this word, while this was in process of construction. His majesty did ¹⁴this because he so greatly loved her, beyond everything. Never did former kings the like of it for ¹⁵their mothers. Lo, his majesty extended his arm, and bent his hand;^a he pronounced for her a mortuary prayer.^b

^aA posture of prayer.

^bHere follow three fragmentary lines, giving the names of the gods appealed to, and the usual objects in such an offering.

REIGN OF AMENHOTEP I

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA^a

[Ll. 24–29, continued from § 16; concluded §§ 78 ff.]

II. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

38. Under this king Ahmose commands the royal transports in a campaign against Kush. The enemy is defeated, Ahmose fighting at the head of the Egyptian troops. He brings the king back to Egypt in two days, and is given “*the gold*,” and a title of honor: “*Warrior of the Ruler*.” The campaign extended to the Middle Kingdom frontier, for a rock inscription of Amenhotep’s eighth year has been found on the island of Uronarti, just below Semneh.^b

39. I sailed the King Zeserkere (*Dšr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, Amenhotep I), triumphant, when he ascended the river to Kush (*Kš*), in order to extend ²⁵the borders of Egypt. His majesty captured that Nubian Troglodyte in the midst of his army, ————— who were brought away as prisoners, none of them missing. [— —] thrust ²⁶aside^c like those who are annihilated. Meanwhile I was at the head of our^d army; I fought incredibly;^e his majesty beheld my bravery. I brought off two hands, ²⁷and took (them) to his majesty. One pursued his people and his cattle. Then I brought off a living prisoner, and took (him) to his majesty. I brought his majesty in two days to

^aBibliography, etc., p. 3, n. a.

^bSteindorff, *Berichte der Philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft*, Leipzig, Sitzung vom 18. Juni, 1900, p. 233.

^cSame phrase, Tombos Inscription (§ 71, l. 7).

^dThis and § 81 are the only places in all the historical texts of Egypt, where “*our troops*” are spoken of. It is a real touch of patriotism.

^e“*... I fought more than what is true*”

Egypt ²⁸from the upper well;^a one presented me with gold. Then I brought away two female slaves, in addition to those which I had taken ²⁹to his majesty. One appointed me 'Warrior of the Ruler.'

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET^b

[Continued from § 20; continued §§ 83 ff., and 344]

II. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

40. Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet accompanied the king on two campaigns: one against the Nubians, of which we have a fuller account in the biography of Ahmose, son of Ebana (§ 39); and the other against the Libyans; this biography being our only source for this war of Amenhotep I in Libya. For his valor on these occasions he was rewarded by the king.

Campaign in Kush

41. I ⁴followed King Zeserkere (*Dšr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, Amenhotep I), triumphant; I captured for him ⁵in Kush, a living prisoner.

Campaign in Libya

42. Again I served for King Zeserkere, triumphant; ⁶I captured for him on the north of Imukehek (*Yꜣ mw-khk*), three hands.

[Continued §§ 83 ff., and 344]

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI^c

43. This official served under four kings: Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Thutmose III, reigning with

^aIn view of Amenhotep I's inscription at the second cataract, we are probably correct in concluding that the second cataract is meant here.

^bBibliography on p. 10, n. a.

^cFrom a Theban tomb at Abd el-Kurna, first noted by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 492-94), and then by Brugsch, who published some fragments (*Recueil de monuments*, I, 36, 1-3, tree list, etc., and Pl. 65, 4-5); also Piehl.

Hatshepsut. He evidently died under this joint reign; his biography was composed at this time, and is the most important of all sources for the history of the succession of the Thutmosids. Ineni was:

Hereditary prince, count, chief of all works in Karnak; the double silver-house was under his charge; the double gold-house was on his seal; sealer of all contracts in the House of Amon; excellency, overseer of the double granary of Amon.^a

These offices brought him the superintendence of many of the most important works executed in Thebes by the kings whom he served. His career is divided as follows:

- I. Career under Amenhotep I (§§ 44-46).
- II. Career under Thutmose I (§§ 99-108).
- III. Career under Thutmose II (§§ 115-18).
- IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (§§ 340-43).

I. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

44. The beginning, containing the name of the king, is lost, and the narrative begins in the middle of the account of a building probably Amenhotep I's gate on the south of the Karnak temple, found below the later pavement, of which the two dedications read:^b

1. "Amenhotep I; he made (it) as his monument for his father Amon, lord of Thebes (*ns-wt-t 3 wy*), erecting for him a great gate of 20 cubits (in height) at the double façade of the temple, of fine limestone of Ayan, which the Son of Re, Amenhotep, living forever, made for him."

XII, 106, 107, where it is inaccurately published by Bouriant. (See also, *ibid.*, XIV, 73, 74.) The first "7 or 8 lines" are wanting, according to Bouriant, and also the ends of the first 14 remaining lines; following these are 6 complete lines. The wall scenes and plans of the tomb (also the long inscription) have been published by an architect, H. Boussac (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, XVIII). To the Egyptologist the publication is little more than worthless, and the work must be done again. But the long inscription has now disappeared.

^aOne of Boussac's plates; he has not numbered them!

2. [Amenhotep I];^a building his house, establishing his temple, erecting the southern gate, made high, even 20 cubits, of fine white limestone ———.

It is important to note that this gate was erected in celebration of the king's first Sed Jubilee. Turning again to Ineni, his inscription begins:

Buildings^b

45. ——— ¹Hatnub (*Ht-nb*), its doors were erected of copper made in one sheet; the parts thereof were of electrum. I inspected that which his majesty made ——— ²bronze, Asiatic copper, collars, vessels, necklaces. I was foreman of every work, all offices were under my command. ——— ³at the feasts of the beginning of the seasons; likewise for his father Amon, lord of Thebes; they were under my control. Inspection was made for me, I was the reckoner. ——— 4f—1.

Death of Amenhotep I

46. His majesty having spent life in happiness and the years in peace, went forth to heaven; he joined the sun, he associated (with him) and went forth ———.

[Continued §§ 99–108]

STELA OF HARMINI^c

47. Harmini (*hr-myny*) prefixes no other title to his name than “scribe,” but he was no less a man than the chief magistrate of Nekhen-Hieraconpolis. This impor-

^aAs in the first, as far as “Thebes.”

^bPossibly also the mortuary temple of Amenhotep I, found by Spiegelberg in 1896 at Drah abu-'n-Neggah on the west side at Thebes (see Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Nekropolis im Neuen Reich* (Strassburg, 1898; and Sethe, *Götting'sche Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1902, No. 1, 29–31). The temple is referred to as “House of Zeserkere (Amenhotep I) on the west of Thebes” (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 238). See also Sethe, *loc. cit.*, 30.

^cMortuary stela of unknown provenience (probably Abydos), now in the Florence Museum, No. 1567; published in *Catalogue*, 288–90; Piehl, *Recueil*, II, 122–24. I had also my own photograph of the original.

tant post on the original Nubian frontier either resulted in his promotion to the governorship of Wawat in lower Nubia, or his Nekhen appointment involved jurisdiction in Wawat, in view of the fact that earlier Nubia began in the vicinity of Nekhen. In any case, he had charge of the “*tribute*” from Wawat, which was later in the hands of the “*king’s-son of Kush*” (§§ 1034 ff.). Although the inscription mentions no king, it clearly belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty before the first appointment of a “*governor of the south countries, and king’s-son of Kush*,” by Thutmose I (§§ 61 ff.). Hence we are not far wrong in placing it under Amenhotep I, though Harmini must of course have served under Ahmose I, also.

48. After the usual mortuary prayer, the inscription continues, in Harmini’s own words:

I passed many years as mayor (*ḥꜣty-ꜥ*) of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis). I brought in its tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands; I was praised, and no occasion was found against me. I attained old age in Wawat, being a favorite of my lord. I went north with its tribute for the king, each year; I came forth thence justified; there was not found a balance against me.

STELA OF KERES^a

49. Keres, like his contemporary, Yuf (§§ 109 ff.), was in the service of one of the queen-mothers. The question arises here whether the “*king’s-mother Ahhotep*,” whom Keres served, was Ahhotep (II), wife of Amenhotep I, in whose tenth year her command was issued, or Ahhotep (I), mother of King Ahmose. As Ahhotep II was never the mother of a king, it must have been Ahhotep I, who had a tomb

^aLimestone stela, 0.82 m. high, from Draḥ abu-’n-Neggah, now in Cairo, without a number. Published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 94 f., No. 74 (his text is excessively incorrect); much better by Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 117 f.

erected at Abydos for Keres. We thus see this queen, from whom the Eighteenth Dynasty sprang, still living in the tenth year of the second king of the dynasty.

50. Keres, who was her herald, has not only preserved for us the old queen's command, honoring him with a tomb and a statue at Abydos, but has also added a loose enumeration of his duties as her herald, which resembles that of the herald, Intef (§§ 763-71).

51. ¹Year 10, first month of the third season (ninth month), first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Zeserkere, Son of Re, of his body: Amenhotep (I), beloved of Osiris, given life.

52. ²Command of the king's-mother to the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, overseer of the gold-house, overseer of the silver-house, chief steward of the king's-mother, ³Ahhotep, who liveth; the herald (*whm·w*), Keres (*K²rs*). The king's-mother has commanded to have made for thee a tomb ⁴at the stairway of the great god, lord of Abydos, confirming thy every office and every favor. There shall be made for thee thy ⁵statues, abiding in the temple, among the followers of ————^a their virtues in writing ⁶in — — —.^a There shall be made for thee mortuary offerings (*htp dy stny*), as the king's-wife does for the one whom she has loved, for the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, the steward, the herald, Keres (*Krs*), only favorite united ⁷with the limbs of Sekhmet, following his queen (*hnnw·t*) at her going. He ⁸— before the people, the real ⁹confidant¹ of his queen, to whom secret things are told, ⁸experienced¹ in the plans of his queen, transmitting affairs to the palace, finding ⁹solutions, making agreeable unpleasant matters, one upon whose word his queen depends, approaching the truth, knowing the affairs of the mind, profitable in speech to his queen, ¹⁰great in respect in the house of the king's-mother, weighty in affairs, excellent in speech, secretive in mind, administering the palace, ¹¹sealing (his) mouth concerning that which he hears, official who solves knotty problems, chief steward, Keres (*Krs*), vigilant administrator for the king's-mother, ¹²not more lax^b by night than by day, the herald, Keres (*Krs*).

53. He says: "O ye mayors, scribes, ritual priests, ¹³attendants, citizens (^c *nh·w*) of the army, as your city-gods favor you, and love you, as ye would bequeath your office(s) to your children ¹⁴after old age; verily so shall ye say: 'An offering which the king gives; ———, ^a king, of the two lofty plumes, lord of life, giver of that which is desired, ¹⁵lord of burial after old age. May he give bread, beer, oxen, geese, everything good and pure, that comes forth upon the table of ¹⁶the All Lord, for the ka of ^b Keres, a man of truth, before the Two Lands, really honest, free ¹⁷from lying, [—] in deciding matters, protecting the weak, defending him who is without ¹⁸him (sic!), sending forth two men, reconciled by the utterance of his mouth, accurate like a pair of balances, ¹⁹the like [of Thoth] in [—] the name, inclining the heart to hear matters, the likeness of a god in his hour, real [confidant] ²⁰of his queen, whom the queen of the Two Lands has advanced. . . . Keres."

^aName of Amon cut out in time of Ikhnaton.

^bHis titles.

REIGN OF THUTMOSE I

CORONATION DECREE^a

54. This unique document is a royal decree issued on the king's coronation day to the viceroy of Nubia, Thure, informing him of the king's accession, fixing the full titulary, the royal name to be used in offering oblations, and the royal name to be used in the oath. Thure's official residence was doubtless Elephantine, for he is charged to offer oblations to the gods of that city, and it was he who put up the records of Thutmose I's return from his Nubian campaign, at the first cataract (§§ 74 ff.). He then caused the decree to be cut on stelæ and set up in Wadi Halfa,^b Kubbân, and probably also Elephantine.

Superscription

55. Royal^c command to the king's-son, the governor of the south countries, Thure (*Tw-r*) triumphant.

Announcement of Accession

Behold, there is brought to thee this [command]^d of the^d king in order to inform thee that my majesty has appeared^e as King of Upper

^aIn two copies: (1) a sandstone (?) stela, 72 by 84 cm., found at Wadi Halfa, now in Cairo, published from a copy of Brugsch by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117 = Erman, *Aegyptische Grammatik*, 37*-38*); (2) a sandstone stela, 67 by 76 cm., found by Borchardt at Kubbân (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 26, n. 1), now in Berlin (No. 13725, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 131), unpublished. The beginning is lost on the Cairo stela, and the end on the Berlin stela; the two thus furnish a practically complete text. The relief at the top is lost on both. I used my own copy of the Berlin text.

^bNot Elephantine, as stated (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117). See *ibid.*, 36, 3, n. 1.

^cSee the similar introduction to Pepi II's letter to Harkhuf (I, 351, l. 2).

^dSupplied from the Story of Sinuhe, 180, 181.

^eIt. "*daumed*," the same word is used for the rising sun, and is transformed

and Lower Egypt upon the Horus-throne of the living, without his like forever.

Titulary

56. Make my titulary as follows:

Horus:^a "Mighty Bull, Beloved of Mat;"

Favorite of the Two Goddesses:^a "Shining in the Serpent-diadem, Great in Strength;"

Golden Horus:^a "Goodly in Years, Making Hearts Live;"

King of Upper and Lower Egypt:^a "Okheperkere;"

Son of Re:^a "[Thutmose], Living forever, and ever."

Name to be Used in the Cultus

57. Cause thou oblations to be offered to the gods of Elephantine of the South,^b as follows:^c "Performance of the pleasing ceremonies^d on behalf of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere, who is given life."

Name to be Used in the Oath

58. Cause thou that the oath be established in the name of my majesty, born of the king's-mother, Seniseneb, who is in health.

Conclusion

59. This is a communication to inform thee of it; and of the fact that the royal house is well and prosperous — —.

Date

60. Year 1, third month of the second season (seventh month) twenty-first day; the day of the feast of coronation.

^aThese five titles are common to all Middle Kingdom and Empire kings; only the names following each title are individual.

^bCf. Eрман (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117).

^cThis preposition (*m*) introduces the title or designation of the ceremony of presenting oblations by the priest on the king's behalf.

BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF THURE^a

61. In this inscription the name of the author is lost. He served under Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, by whom he was appointed viceroy of Kush (l. 6), Thutmose II, and Thutmose III (l. 14, note). He is supposed by Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 135), and by Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 230, n. 2) to be the same as Nehi, the viceroy of Kush, who also served under Thutmose III, and has also placed his inscription on the façade of the Semneh temple (§§ 651 ff.).

Now, Nehi was still in office in Thutmose III's fifty-second year, and if he began his official career under Ahmose, he would have been over 117 years old^b at that time! The identity with Nehi, which was at best an assumption, is therefore impossible. Another identification is, however, certain. This unknown was appointed viceroy of Kush by Thutmose I, at whose accession he was in his prime. He is therefore the same as the viceroy, Thure, whom we find at Elephantine in Thutmose I's first year (§ 55), being the earliest viceroy of Kush whom we know. That he survived into Thutmose III's reign is shown by a tomb at Silsileh, where he is mentioned under Hatshepsut.^c

Service under Ahmose I

62. 1——— under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire (Ahmose I); he made me overseer of the — 2——— of very good character in his heart, not careless in — 3——— his court.

^aInscribed on the south wall (façade) of Thutmose III's Semneh temple; text: Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 91; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47, c. The upper half of all the lines has been cut away for a later relief of Thutmose III. I am indebted to Steindorff for the use of his collation of the original.

^bIf he was 25 at Ahmose I's death, we must then add 10 for Amenhotep I, 30 for Thutmose I, and 51 for Thutmose III—a total of 117 years.

^cGriffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XII, 104. See

Service under Amenhotep I

63. Favor was repeated by his son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Zeserke]re (Amenhotep I) ⁴_____ the granary of Amon, to conduct the works in Karnak — — ⁵_____ ['I did'] for him the excellent things of (his)^a heart; he favored me for doing his^a truth — — ⁶_____.

Service under Thutmose I

64. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I); he appointed me to be king's-son of [Kush] — — — ⁷_____ of gold; an armlet the second time — — — — ⁸_____ gave me of gold: a vase, two bracelets — — — — ⁹_____ he — me more than the magnates of the palace, he recognized the excellence of — — — ¹⁰_____ ¹¹_____ in the place of satisfying the heart. He attained old age — — — ¹²_____.

Service under Thutmose II

65. The first of the repetition of the favor of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (Thutmose II); he made ['me'] _____ ¹³_____ with a royal message, recording _____ ¹⁴_____.^c

Service under Thutmose III

66. [King Thutmose III]; he magnified me in the midst _____.

TOMBOS STELA^d

67. Three important facts are preserved to us in this inscription:

^aBoth these pronouns refer to Amon; the same thought occurs in Suti and Hor's tablet (British Museum, 826), ll. 16, 17.

^bThe portion preserved is hopelessly obscure.

^cHere are the remains of a royal oval, which certainly contained the name of Thutmose III; in this king's second year, a viceroy of Kush is mentioned in this same temple (§ 170, l. 2), but the name is unfortunately broken out. He is doubtless the same as our viceroy.

^dEngraved on the rocks on the island of Tombos, just above the third cataract of the Nile; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 5, *a*, and thence Piehl, *Petites études égyptologiques*. The Berlin squeeze (No. 284) permitted some important corrections but the publication (Lepsius. *Denkmäler*) is a brilliant example of cor-

1. In the second year Thutmose I defeated the Nubians and conquered the country as far as the third cataract^a (cf. ll. 6 and 7, and the location of the inscription);

2. He then built a fortified station for his troops at Tombos, remains of which still survive, and thus established his southern frontier at this point (cf. l. 10).^b

3. His empire extended from this point on the south to the Euphrates on the north (cf. l. 13); the Asiatic peoples are already subdued (cf. ll. 3, 4, and 16), but his Asiatic campaign did not take place until after this Nubian expedition (see § 81, l. 35). Hence we must suppose, either that he had already made an Asiatic campaign of which no account has survived; or that his predecessors had already made the conquest of the country as far as Euphrates, and thus he could refer to it as in his domain. The latter is the more probable supposition.

68. Other interesting data are the fact that the oath, even in the foreign provinces, is made in the name of the king (l. 14), according to the instructions in his coronation announcement (cf. § 58); and the curious reference to the Euphrates as "*that inverted water which goes down-stream in going up-stream*" (cf. l. 13, note).

Unfortunately, this important inscription offers no sober narrative of the events which it commemorates, but is written in that fulsome style so often found in victorious hymns of the Pharaohs. This is a style so overloaded with far-fetched figures and unfamiliar words that it is often quite unintel-

^aAn unpublished inscription of his, on the Island of Arko (Wilkinson, *Thebes*, 472, note) shows that he pushed some forty miles south of the third cataract.

^bThis expedition left another inscription at Tangûr, about seventy-five miles above the second cataract, but we possess only a partial copy by a layman, from which it is impossible to make out much. It is dated "*Year 2, first month of third season*," which shows that it was made on the way out (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 41), about five months before the Tombos inscription.

ligible.^a It is at its worst in ll. 5–9, where some phrases containing only exaggerated epithets applied to the king have necessarily been left untranslated.

Introduction

69. ¹Year 2, second month of the first season, fifteenth day, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Mat (*M³ c³ t*); Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Shining in the Serpent-diadem, Mighty^b in Strength; Golden Horus: Goodly in Years, Making hearts live; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okheperkere, who is given life; Son of Re: Thutmose (I, living) forever, eternally.^c

Hymn of Victory

70. [— —] of his induction ²his coronation as Lord (*hry-d³ d³*) of the Two Lands, to rule the circuit of the sun; South and North land as ruler of the portions of Horus and Set,^d the Uniter of the Two Lands. He has seated himself upon the throne of Keb, wearing ³the radiance of the double crown, the staff^e of his majesty; he hath taken his inheritance, he hath assumed the seat of Horus, in order to extend the boundaries of Thebes and the territory of Khaftet-hir-nebes;^f so that the Sand-dwellers and the barbarians shall labor for her.^g ⁴An abomination¹ of the god are the Haunebu; bound are the Ekbet (*3 kb³ t*); the Southerners come down^h-river, the Northerners come up^h-river, and all lands are together bringing their tribute ⁵to the Good God, the primordial, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), who liveth forever, the mighty one,

^aThere is a good example on the second Semneh stela (I, 657).

^bThe coronation letter has “*great in strength*,” the usual form.

^cCf. the titulary given by the king himself in the coronation letter (§ 56).

^dThe myth of Horus and Set states that they divided the Nile country between them; over both these domains the Pharaoh rules, and hence follow the words: “*uniter, etc.*,” It is possible that “*Horus and Set*” should be translated only “*the two lords*,” see Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XX, 199, 200.

^eFor the same phrase applied to a successor, see I, 692.

^fThe goddess of western Thebes.

^gThe pronoun refers to Thebes; the foreign captives are to be employed on her buildings.

Horus, Lord of the Two Lands, [— — —]. The [Sand]-dwellers, chiefs of their tribes [—] to him, bowing down; the [interior]^a peoples^b send to his majesty, doing obeisance to that which is on his front.^c

Victory in Nubia

71. He hath overthrown the chief of the [Nubians]^d; the Negro is [helpless, defenseless] in his grasp. He hath united the boundaries of his two^d sides, there is not a remnant among the Curly-Haired,^e who come to attack him; there is not a single survivor among them. The Nubian Troglodytes fall by the sword, and are thrust aside in their lands; ⁸their foulness, it floods their valleys; the [—] of their mouths is like a violent flood. The fragments cut from them are too much for the birds,^f carrying off the prey to another place. ^{9g}. the sole staff of Amon; Keb, divine begetter, whose name is hidden, ¹⁰reproducer, Bull of the divine ennead, chosen emanation of the divine members who doeth the pleasure of the Spirits of Heliopolis.

Tombos Fortress Built

72. The lords of the palace have made a fortress for his army, (called) "None-Faces-Him-¹¹Among-the-Nine-Bows-Together;"^h like a young panther among the fleeing cattle; the fame of his majesty blinded them.

Universal Triumph

73. (He) brought the ends of the earth into his domain; (he) trod its two extremities ¹²with his mighty sword, seeking battle; (but) he

^a*Hnwtyw*, with a hide as the first determinative.

^bThe interior peoples of the neighboring lands.

^cThis means the sacred uraeus serpent on his forehead, as the determinative shows.

^dSee I, 311, l. 14.

^eAn epithet for the Negro, used also by Amenhotep II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 61), by Seti I (III, 155, l. 4); and again in the Nineteenth Dynasty, *Recueil*, XXII, 107, ll. 7, 8. See Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 261 f., and *Sphinx*, VI, 19 f.

^fDeterminative is an eagle.

^gThe first half of line 9 is a series of obscure epithets of praise applied to the king.

^hIt is doubtful whether this is the name of the fortress. It is probably the same fortress which is referred to by Thutmose II in his Annals (see below, p. 31).

found no one who faced him.^a (He) penetrated valleys which ¹³the (royal) ancestors knew not, which the wearers of the double diadem had not seen. His southern boundary is as far as the frontier of this land,^b (his) northern as far as that inverted water^c which goes down-stream in going up-stream.^d ¹⁴The like has not happened to other kings; his name has reached as far as the circuit of heaven, it has penetrated the Two Lands as far as the nether world;^e the oath is taken^f by it (viz., his name) in all lands, because of the greatness of the fame of his majesty. ¹⁵They (viz., the lands) were not seen in the archives of the ancestors since the Worshipers of Horus,^g who gives his breath to the one that follows him, his offerings to the one that treads ¹⁶his way. His majesty is Horus, assuming his (Horus's) kingdom of myriads of years, ¹⁷subject¹ to him are the isles of the Great Circle (*šn[w]-wr*, Okeanos), the entire earth is under his two feet; ¹⁷bodily son of Re, his beloved, Thutmose (I), living forever and ever. Amon-Re, king of gods is his father, the creator of his beauty, ¹⁸beloved of the gods of Thebes, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, health, joy of his heart upon the throne of Horus, ¹⁹leading¹ all the living like Re, forever.

INSCRIPTIONS AT THE FIRST CATARACT

74. Some eight months after the preceding expedition passed Tangur, about seventy-five miles above the second cataract, on the way out, they had reached Assuan on the return—a fact which was recorded by Thure, the viceroy of Kush, in two inscriptions on the island of Sehel and one at Assuan.

^aSee Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 967.

^bNubia.

^cThe Euphrates.

^dFor the Egyptian on the Nile north was “down-stream,” and south was “up-stream.” It seemed very curious to him that in another country as here on the Euphrates, one went south in going down-stream; hence the anomaly of the text, which becomes clear, if we substitute “south” for “up-stream.” See also IV, 407.

^eHeaven, earth, and the nether world, include the entire Egyptian universe.

^fIn the coronation announcement the form of the king's title to be used in the oath is given (see § 58).

I. SEHEL INSCRIPTION^a

75. On arriving at the first cataract, the king found the canal of Sesostris III (see I, 642 ff.) stopped up. He cleared it, and the viceroy made the following records:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), who is given life. His majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he found it [stopped up] with stones, (so that) no [ship sailed upon it]. He [sail]ed [down-stream] upon it, his heart [glad, having slain his enemies].^b The king's-son, [Thure].^c

II. SEHEL INSCRIPTION^d

76. Above are the Horus-, throne- and personal-names of Thutmose I; and below, the following:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22. His majesty sailed this canal in victory and in power, at his return from overthrowing the wretched Kush.

The king's-son, Thure.

III. ASSUAN INSCRIPTION^e

77. On the same day the king arrived at Assuan, where he left a similar record:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the majesty of Thutmose (I).^f His majesty arrived from Kush, having overthrown the enemy.

^aDe Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 13.

^bThe preceding restorations are from Thutmose III's copy of this inscription (see §§ 649 f.).

^cRestored from the following inscription. Thure, also § 55.

^dDiscovered by Wilbour, and published in *Recueil*, XIII, 202; better, de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 19.

^eDe Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 41, No. 185.

^fFull titularv.

§ 80] INSCRIPTION OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA 33

INSCRIPTION OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA^a

[Ll. 29-39; concluded from § 39]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I

78. Ahmose's career under Thutmose I is still one of active service in campaigning. He first sails the royal transport in the campaign against Nubia (§ 80), resulting in his appointment to the head of the naval forces. They returned in triumph with the Nubian foe hanged head downward at the bow of the royal barge.

79. It was not until after this Nubian campaign that the famous expedition to Naharin set out. Our only sources for this event are the biographies of the two El Kab Ahmoses. Thutmose III states that he set up his boundary tablet beside that of his father (§ 478), and it must have been on this campaign that this first boundary tablet was set up by Thutmose I.^b For it is always supposed that this campaign was the only Asiatic expedition of Thutmose I; but as the Tombos inscription (§§ 67 ff.) speaks of the conquest of Asia as far as the Euphrates, before the Asiatic campaign narrated by the two Ahmoses, we must suppose either that Thutmose I had already made a still earlier campaign in Syria; or that his predecessors, Ahmose I and Amenhotep I, had achieved greater conquests in Asia than our scanty sources for their reigns would indicate.

Campaign against Nubia

80. I sailed the King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, when he ascended the river to Khenthennofer (*Hnt-hn-nfr*),³⁰ in order to cast

^aFor bibliography, see p. 3, note a.

^bThe inscription of Hatshepsut's childhood (§ 225, l. 11) mentions her father's (Thutmose I's) survivals among the chiefs of Retenu, meaning those he had

out violence in the highlands, in order to suppress the raiding^a of the hill region. I showed bravery in his presence in the bad water, in the 'passage' of ³¹the ship by the bend. One appointed me chief of the sailors. His majesty was ————.^b

³²His majesty was furious thereat, like a panther;^c his majesty cast his first lance, which remained in the body of that fallen one.^d This was — — — —^e ³³powerless before his flaming uraeus,^f made 'so' in an instant of destruction; their people were brought off as living prisoners. ³⁴His majesty sailed down-river, with all countries in his grasp, that wretched Nubian Troglodyte being hanged head downward at the [prow]^g of the ba[rge] of his majesty, and landed ³⁵at Karnak.

Asiatic Campaign

81. After these things^h one journeyed to Retenu (*Rt̃nw*) to 'wash his heart' among the foreign countries.

His majesty arrived at Naharin (*N³-h³-ry-n³*) ³⁶his majesty found that foe when he was 'planning' destruction; his majesty made a great slaughterⁱ among them. ³⁷Numberless were the living prisoners, which his majesty brought off from his victories. Meanwhile I was at

^aThe flying raids into the valley of the Nile made by the barbarians inhabiting the desert behind the hills on either side of the valley. The account of the battle is very obscure, but the weakness of the enemy makes the result certain.

^bThe text ends here in the middle of a sentence, and proceeds around the corner of the wall with what seems to be the account of another incident in the same Nubian campaign.

^cThis is precisely what is said of Thutmose II in his Nubian war (Assuan Inscription, l. 9, II, 121) when the announcement of revolt was brought to him, hence a similar incident probably should precede here.

^dCf. Sinuhe's weapon which "*remained in his (his foe's) neck*."

^eIt is possible that there is no lacuna here, as the squeeze shows not a trace of a sign in the last 9 inches of the line.

^fThe sacred serpent which crowns the royal forehead.

^gThe restoration is from the Amâda tablet of Amenhotep II, II, 797, l. 17, where the same phrase occurs.

^hThis phrase shows clearly that the Nubian campaign took place before the Asiatic campaign. The same order is observed in the biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§§ 84, 85). The usual supposition that the Asiatic preceded the Nubian campaign is based on a false conclusion from the Tombos inscription (§§ 67 ff.).

ⁱAn idiom for taking revenge or obtaining satisfaction.

^jFrom the context of the preceding line.

the head of our troops,^a and his majesty beheld my bravery. ³⁸I brought off a chariot, its horses, and him who was upon it as a living prisoner, and took them to ^bhis majesty.^b One presented me with gold in double measure.

His Old Age

82. ³⁹When I grew old, and had attained old age, my honors were as at their beginning.^c —————^d a tomb, which I myself made.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET^e

[Continued from § 42; concluded §§ 123-4, 344]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I

83. In this reign Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet took part in the campaign in Nubia; and also accompanied the Asiatic campaign to Naharin, of which Ahmose, son of Ebana, furnishes a fuller account (§ 81). He was then richly rewarded for his valor by the king.

Campaign in Kush

84. I ⁷followed the King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant; I captured for him ⁸in Kush, two living prisoners, beside three living prisoners, whom I brought off ⁹in Kush, without counting them.^f

Campaign in Naharin

85. Again^g I served ¹⁰for King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant; I captured for him in the country of Naharin (*N³-h-ry-n³*), ¹¹21 hands, one horse, and one chariot.

^aSee note on l. 26, § 39.

^bFrom the squeeze; cf. also l. 27.

^cHe continued to receive rewards as at the beginning.

^dNearly one-third line is lacking.

^eBibliography, p. 10, note a.

^fPerhaps meaning that they were not included in the official count.

^gShowing clearly that the Asiatic campaign took place after the Nubian cam-

KARNAK OBELISKS^a

86. This pair stood before the pylon (IV) of Thutmose I in the great Karnak temple; the northern obelisk, which Pococke saw still standing, has since fallen. Their erection by Thutmose I is narrated by the chief architect in charge, Ineni (see § 105). Both Ineni and the standing obelisk refer to “*two great obelisks*,” so that there can be no doubt that Thutmose I erected both.^b The work must have been done just before his demission of the crown—an event which left the northern obelisk still uninscribed. It is certainly very significant that it was later inscribed by Thutmose III! If he did not reach the throne until after the reigns of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, the northern obelisk remained uninscribed for some twenty-three years at least! This is improbable, and the fact that the northern obelisk was not usurped by Thutmose II or Hatshepsut would indicate that they had no opportunity to do so, because Thutmose III, having succeeded Thutmose I for a few years, had already taken possession of it himself (see Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 39 f.).

Only the middle columns of the standing obelisk are the inscriptions of Thutmose I; the side columns are later additions by Ramses IV and Ramses VI of the Twentieth Dynasty. The middle columns of the north and south sides contain only the elaborate titulary of Thutmose I; those of the east and west, his dedication, as follows:

^aText: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 6; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 127 f.; Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 312–313; Rougé, *Album photographique*, 50, 53, 54, 68. See also Pococke, *Description of the East*, I, 95; and Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 159.

^bSee Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 90. The two additional bases noted in Baedeker (1902, 253) probably belong to some other king, perhaps Amenhotep III, who mentions obelisks (8 002. l. 57): or to

87. ^aHorus: Mighty bull, beloved of Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Shining with the Serpent-diadem, great in strength; Okheperkere, Setepnere; Golden Horus: Beautiful in years, who makes hearts live; Bodily Son of Re, Thutmose (I), Shining-in-Beauty.

He made (it), as his monument for his father Amon, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak, that he might be given life like Re, forever.

88. ^bHorus: Mighty bull, beloved of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okheperkere, Setep-Amon (Thutmose I).

He made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, chief of the Two Lands, erecting for him^c two great obelisks^c at the double façade of the temple. The pyramidions were of ————.^d

89. A fragment of an obelisk^e on the island of Elephantine also refers to Thutmose I's jubilee. It still bears the words:

———— Thutmose (I); Shining-in-Beauty; he made (it) as his monument to his father, Khnum; making for him two obelisks of granite. First occurrence.^f That he may be given life forever.

ABYDOS STELA^g

90. This stela recorded the king's works in the Abydos temple of Osiris. In the lost introduction he has apparently held an audience and declared his intention of exe-

^aMiddle column, east side.

^bMiddle column, west side.

^cSee Ineni, ll. 9-11, § 105.

^dAbout one-third of the line is flaked off; the material of the pyramidions crowning the obelisks was usually copper or bronze.

^eBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1220. The epithet, "*Shining-in-Beauty*," is found on Thutmose I's Karnak obelisk, and is not used by other Thutmosids. Hence the obelisk certainly belongs to Thutmose I.

^fReferring, of course, to the royal jubilee.

^gSandstone stela from Abydos, now in Cairo; published by Mariette (*Abydos*, II, 31) and by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 19-22). Only the lower portion is preserved, the relief above being broken off, and probably a consider-

cuting certain works for the god; whereupon the priests reply in the words with which the preserved portion begins. The chief treasurer is then instructed to execute the said works, which, he states, he did. On their completion the king delivers an address to the priests like that of Thutmose III (§§ 571 ff.).

Address of the Priests

91. ²—^a “How pleasant is this in the hearts of the people! How beautiful is this in the sight of the gods! Thou makest a monument for Osiris, thou beautifiest the First of the Westerners, the great god of the beginning, whose place Atum advanced, whom he magnified before ³his — — his heart, for whom kings have labored since this land was founded. As for thee, thou wast born to him; he made thee in the uprightness of his heart, to do that which he did in the earth, to restore ⁴the sanctuaries of the gods, [to] — their temples. Thou art gold, thine is the silver, Keb^b has opened for thee that which is in him, Tatenen^c has given to thee his things. All the countries labor for thee, all the lands are under thy rule. ⁵Every costly stone is ‘collected’ — in thy house; ‘if there is’ a wish in thee, it must be done; it is that which thy ka desires which happens.

Royal Instructions to the Chief Treasurer

92. His majesty commanded the chief treasurer: “Conduct the work, causing to come ⁶— — — — every prepared one of his workmen, the best of his lay priests, who knows the directions and is skilful in that which he knows, who does not transgress what was commanded him, ⁷[‘to erect’] the monument of his father [Osiris], to equip his everlasting statue. Execute the very secret things, no one seeing, no one beholding, no one knowing his body. Make for him the portable chapel-barque (*wts-nfr-w*) of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, black copper, ⁸every splendid costly stone.”

Words of the Chief Treasurer

93. I executed for him the offering-tables, — (*sh̄m-*) sistrums and (*šsy-t-*) sistrums, necklace-rattles (*mny-wt*), censers, ‘a flat dish’ (*tnyw*),

^aThe number of lines lost before this point is uncertain.

^bThe earth-god

^cAtum

a great oblation there. I did not 'remove' them. I did not discontinue them.

The Sacred Barge

94. I built^a the august [barge] of new cedar of the best of the terraces; its bow and its stern being of electrum, making festive the lake;^b to make his voyage therein at his feast of the "District of Peker" (*Pky*).

Statues of the Gods

95. Furthermore, ¹⁰[his majesty] commanded to shape^c (statues of) the great ennead of gods dwelling in Abydos; (each) one of them is mentioned by his name; Khnum, lord of Hirur, dwelling in Abydos; Khnum, lord of the cataract, dwelling in Abydos; Thoth, leader of the great gods, ¹¹presider over Hesret; Horus, presider over Letopolis; Harendotes; Upwawet of the South, and Upwawet of the North; mysterious and splendid were their bodies. The standards^d thereof were of ¹²electrum, more excellent than their predecessors; more splendid were they than that which is in heaven; more secret were they than the fashion of the nether world; more — were they than the dwellers in Nun.

Words of the King

96. ¹³My majesty did these things for my father Osiris, because I loved him so much more than all gods, in order that my name might abide and my monuments endure in the house of my father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, ¹⁴lord of Abydos, forever and ever.

Address to the Priests

97. [I say to] you, divine fathers^e of this temple, priests (*w^c b[·] w*), ritual priests, dwellers in the place of the hand,^f ¹⁵all the lay priests of the temple; offer ye to my tomb, present ye to my oblation-tablet; maintain ye the monuments of my majesty; mention ye my name;

^aRead: *ḥh* as in Ineni (§ 105, l. 10).

^bMeaning it was reflected in the water; see same idea more clearly (§ 888, l. 20).

^c*Ms*, "to shape," with a following name of a god, is not uncommon (cf. I, 672).

^dThese are the standards upon which the statues were borne.

^ePriestly title.

remember ye my titulary; give ye ¹⁶praises to my likeness; praise ye the statue of my majesty; set my name in the mouth of your servants, my memory among your children. For ¹⁷I am a king excellent because of what he has done; the unique in might through the (mere) mention of his name ¹⁸— —^{1a} which I made in this land, till ye know it. There is no lie before you, nor exaggeration ¹⁸therein. I have made monuments for the gods; I have beautified their sanctuaries for the future; I have maintained their temples, I have restored that which was ruinous, I have surpassed ¹⁹that which was done before. I have informed the priests (*w^c b^w*) of their duties, I have led the ignorant to that which he did not know. I have increased the work of others, the kings ²⁰who have been before me; the gods had joy in my time, their temples were in festivity.

Universal Triumph

98. I made the boundaries of Egypt (*t³-mry*) as far as that which the sun encircles. I made ²¹strong those who were in fear; I repelled the evil from them. I made Egypt the superior of every land ²²— — — —¹ favorite of Amon, ²²Son of Re, of his body, his beloved Thutmose (I), Shining like Re, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners; Great God, lord of Abydos, ruler of eternity; given life, stability, satisfaction, and health, while shining as King upon the Horus-throne of the living; and joy of his heart, together with his ka, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI^b

[Continued from § 46; continued § 115]

II. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I (LL. 4-14)

99. The career of Ineni, which began under Amenhotep I, continues here under Thutmose I. The king's name and the narrative of his accession unfortunately fall in the lacunæ at the ends of the lines (probably l. 4). The biography then narrates the wide dominion of the king, and the rich tribute therefrom (§ 101); Ineni's advancement to

^aRead *sdwt*

^bBibliography on p. 78, note 2

superintendence of the king's building projects (§ 102) especially the construction of the Karnak pylons of Thutmose I, and the erection before them of his two obelisks, one of which still stands (§§ 103-5); also the excavation of the king's cliff-tomb and improvements in the necropolis of Thebes (§ 106); Ineni's rewards in serfs and treasury dues (§ 107); and the death of the king (§ 108).

100. The Karnak hall, which Ineni constructed, is of great historic interest, as it was the first hall on entering the building, and served as the chief hypostyle, or colonnaded hall, of the temple throughout the reign of Thutmose I. It was in this hall that Thutmose III was proclaimed king by the priests of Amon (§§ 131 ff.), thus putting aside either its builder, Thutmose I, or the weakling Thutmose II, and in this hall Hatshepsut erected her two great obelisks. The description of the erection of the hall itself is unfortunately lost in the lacuna at the end of l. 7, and l. 8 begins with a reference to the "*great pylons on its either side*," the erection of which follows. But Thutmose III informs us of the interesting fact that he replaced with stone columns the cedar columns erected by Thutmose I in this hall (§ 601). Indeed, Thutmose I himself was obliged to replace the northernmost two of his cedar columns by stone ones before the end of his reign.^a The fact is recorded by him on one of the new columns (see Piehl, *Actes du 6^{me} congrès des orientalistes à Leide*, 1883, IV^{me} partie, section 3, 203-19). This inscription is unfortunately now only a series of disconnected fragments, of which little is intelligible. The dedication on one of the columns is as follows: "*Thutmose I, he made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, chief of the Two Lands*,

^aThis is a hint as to the length of his reign; he must have reigned long enough

making for him an august colonnade, which adorns the Two Lands with its beauty." (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1311, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 163.) On the further career of this historic hall, only begun here, see §§ 599 ff.; 803 ff.

Accession and Power of Thutmose I

101. ——— 5the Good God, who smites the Nubians, lord of might, who overthrows the Asiatics. He made his boundary as far as the ^aHorns of the Earth,^a and the marshes in Kebeh (*Kbh*) ——— 6r ——— 1 Elephantine. The Sand-dwellers bore their tribute like the impost of the South and the North; his majesty forwarded them to Thebes, for his father Amon, each year. Everything was made to prosper^b for me under ———.

Ineni's Promotion

102. 7He filled his heart with me,^c I was brought to be a dignitary, overseer of the granary; the fields of divine offerings were under my authority; all^d the excellent works together were under my administration.

Karnak Pylons

103. I inspected the great monuments^e which he made ——— 8great pylons on its either side of fine limestone of Ayan (^c*nw*); august flagstaves were erected at the double façade of the temple of new cedar of the best of the Terraces;^f their tops were of electrum.^g I inspected ——— 9wrought with electrum.

^aThe same phrase occurs in Assuan inscription of Thutmose II (§ 120, l. 4), where it refers to the south; the marshes above must therefore be those of the Euphrates in the north, also used by Thutmose II, *loc. cit.*

^bSuch a passive is often a respectful circumlocution to indicate an act of the king.

^cAn idiom signifying favor with the king.

^dRead: *nb't*.

^eThe following is the description of the erection and adornment by Ineni of the hall and two pylons of Thutmose I at Karnak (IV and V), and the two obelisks before them, of which one still stands.

^fMeaning the slopes of Lebanon; cf. the "*Myrrh-terraces*."

^gFour such flagstaves, set in channels cut for them in the faces of the pylons, usually adorned the temple facade.

Karnak Portal

104. I inspected the erection of the great doorway (named): "Amon-Mighty-in-Wealth;"^a its huge door was of Asiatic copper whereon was the Divine Shadow,^b inlaid with gold.

Karnak Obelisks

105. I inspected the erection of two^c obelisks ———— ^{10d}built the august boat^d of 120 cubits in its length, 40 cubits in its width,^e in order to transport these obelisks. (They) came in peace, safety^f and prosperity, and landed at Karnak ———— ¹¹of the city. Its 'track' was laid with every pleasant wood.

Thutmose I's Cliff-tomb

106. I inspected the excavation of the cliff-tomb of his majesty, alone, no one seeing, no one hearing.^g I sought out the excellent ^hthings upon ———— ^{12f—1} ⁱI was vigilantⁱ in seeking that which is excellent. I made fields of clay, in order to plaster their tombs of the necropolis; it was a work such as the ancestors had not done which I was obliged to do there '— — —' ¹³I sought out for those

^aThe name is not among the ten gates given by Mariette, *Karnak*, 38.

^bExplained § 889, note.

^cHence Petrie, depending on Mariette's plan (*Karnak*, 2) is under misapprehension in attributing one of these obelisks to Thutmose III (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 67). The standing obelisk of this pair distinctly refers to the erection of "two great obelisks" (§ 88); hence Thutmose III must have appropriated the now fallen obelisk after it was up, and before the inscriptions were cut.

^dThe same words are used of the transport of Hatshepsut's obelisks; see § 326, note.

^e*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1895-96, 9 and 10, where Naville gives the equivalents of the above dimensions rather inaccurately. One hundred and twenty royal cubits = 206.6 feet, and 40 royal cubits = 68.86 feet.

^fRead *hṯp*, *c nḏ*, *wḏ*.

^gThe same phrase: "no one seeing, no one hearing," occurs on the statue of Sennefer, British Museum, 48. See also § 92. This remarkable statement indicates the secrecy with which the vast rock-cut tombs of the Emperors were excavated, in order to avoid the tomb-robberies, which finally forced the removal of the royal mummies to Der el-Bahri. Another officer, Hapuseneb (§ 389, ll. 7, 8), also states that he worked on the king's "cliff-tomb" (*hr·t*), see Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 23, 59. See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 90-94. The construction of such a tomb is described in the last twelve lines of Sinuhe; see Goodwin, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 21 ff.

who should be after me. It was a work of my heart, my virtue was wisdom; there was not given to me a command by an elder. I shall be praised because of my wisdom after years, by those who shall imitate that which I have done, ——— ¹⁴while I was chief (*r²-hry*) of all works.

Ineni's Rewards

107. My praise endured in the palace, my love among the court. His majesty endowed me^a with peasant-serfs, and my income was from the granary of the king's estate on each day.

Death of Thutmose I

108. The king rested from life, going forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart.

[Continued §§ 115-18]

STELA OF YUF^b

109. This official served under Queen Ahhotep, the mother of King Ahmose I, and administered her property in Edfu. He also repaired for her there a ruined tomb belonging to her ancestor, the queen Sebekemsaf, who was the wife of one of the Thirteenth Dynasty Intefs.^c He says nothing of any subsequent connection with the royal house under the following reign of Amenhotep I, but he was later in the service of Queen Ahmose, the favorite wife of Thutmose I, and mother of Hatshepsut. His career therefore extended through at least part of four generations of the royal house.

^aThe same rare phrase in Ahmose, son of Ebana (§ 6, l. 3).

^bSandstone stela, 0.62 m. high, from Edfu, now in Cairo, old No. 238; published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 92, 93, No. 72. I had also a carefully revised copy, kindly loaned me by Schaefer.

^cSee Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIV, 285-89. Maspero supposed (*Momies royales*, 625-28) that Sebekemsaf was a deceased daughter of Ahhotep, but Newberry has clearly shown that she was an

Relief

110. In the middle is an offering-table, before which on the left are two women sitting, and on the right a man, standing, accompanied by his son. Before the first woman are the words: "*Divine consort, great king's-wife, Ahhotep, triumphant*"; before the second: "*King's-wife, king's-sister [Sebek]emsaf^a —.*"

Before the first man is a mortuary prayer for "*thy (fem.) ka*," but his name is illegible; before the son: "*His son, prophet of the dues (š³w), Harhotep, triumphant.*" Below is the following inscription:

Mortuary Prayer

111. ¹An offering which the king gives; Horus of Edfu, Osiris and Isis; may they give bread, beer, oxen, geese, everything good and pure for the ka of the great king's-wife, ²the king's-mother, Ahhotep, triumphant; and her son Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant.

Restoration of Sebekemsaf's Tomb

112. She gave to me.^b The ¹second^{1c} prophet of the dues (š³w) of the altar, ³the door-keeper of the temple, the priest, Yuf (Yw[·]f), son of Iritset (Yry[·]t-s[·]t), he says: "I repaired this tomb (ysy) of ⁴the king's-daughter, Sebekemsaf, after finding it beginning to go to ruin."

Favor under Queen Ahhotep

113. Then this priest said: "⁵O ye who pass by this stela, I will tell you, and I will cause you to hear my favor with the great king's-wife, Ahhotep. She appointed ⁶me to offer to her; she intrusted me with the statue of her majesty. She gave to me bread: ⁷100 (by[·]t-) loaves, and 10 persen loaves; ²(ds-) jars of beer, and a joint (pns[·]w) from every ox. I was endowed^d [with] ⁸upland, and with lowland.

^aOf course, Sebekemsas is meant.

^bThe connection of this phrase is not clear; the following list of titles terminating with the name of the owner of the stela can hardly be connected with the preceding. Perhaps the stela is the gift meant.

^cTwo strokes, perhaps misunderstood from hieratic determinative for a man.

She repeated to me another favor, she gave to me all her property in Edfu, ⁹to administer^a it for her majesty.

Favor under Queen Ahmose

114. Another favor of the great king's-wife, Ahmose, triumphant, whom king ¹⁰Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, loves. She appointed me to be scribe of the assistant treasurer. She intrusted me with ¹¹the statue of her majesty, she gave to me 100 loaves of bread, 2 (*ds-*) jars of beer, and a joint (*w^c b·t*) from every ox. ¹²I was endowed with upland, and with lowland.

Field-scribe^b of Horus of Edfu, Denereg (*Dnrg*).

^a*Hrp*; hence we may possibly render: "to present it (the income?) to her majesty."

^bEvidently the subscript of the scribe who made the document.

REIGN OF THUTMOSE II

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI^a

[Continued from 108; concluded §§ 340 ff.]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE II

115. According to this biography, Thutmose II succeeded directly at the death of Thutmose I;^b under the new reign, Ineni enjoyed the greatest favor, until the death of Thutmose II.

Succession of Thutmose II

116. The Hawk^c in the nest^c [appeared as]^d the ¹⁵King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (^c*ḥpr-n-R* ^c, Thutmose II), he became king of the Black Land^e and ruler of the Red Land,^e having taken possession of the Two Regions in triumph.

Ineni's Favor

117. I was a favorite of the king^f in his every place; greater was that which he did for me than^g those who preceded (me). I attained the old age of the revered, I possessed the favor of his majesty every day. I was supplied from the table of the king ¹⁶with bread of oblations for

^aBibliography on p. 18, note c.

^bThis seems unfavorable to Sethe's theory that Thutmose III succeeded Thutmose I and reigned for a short time before the accession of Thutmose II. But Sethe offers very cogent arguments in explanation of Ineni's silence on this point. See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 19, § 29, and 39, § 52; and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36.

^cThis is a poetical designation of the crown prince as Horus, who also succeeded his father, Osiris.

^dErmann's restoration. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40, n. 1.

^eThe cultivable land and the desert.

^fLit., "one who filled the heart of the king."

^gSupply of course: "than that which he did for those who, etc.;" or "than that which those did who, etc.," meaning he received greater favor than from preced-

the king, beer likewise, meat, fat-meat, vegetables, various fruits, honey, cakes, wine, oil. My necessities were apportioned in health and life, as his majesty himself said, for love of me.

Death of Thutmose II

118. (He) went forth to heaven, having mingled with the gods.^a

[Concluded §§ 340-43]

ASSUAN INSCRIPTION^b

119. This inscription narrates: (1) the arrival of a messenger who announces to his majesty a rebellion in Kush, and mentions a frontier fortress of the king's father, Thutmose I (see § 72) (ll. 5-9); (2) the anger of the king (ll. 9-11); (3) his dispatch of an army thither (ll. 11, 12); (4) the overthrow of Kush, and the capture of one of the chief's children with some other prisoners (ll. 12-15); (4) the complete pacification of the country (ll. 15-17). The inscription is dated on the day of the king's accession, and, according to l. 7, his father, Thutmose I, was living at the time, thus proving the coregency of the two.

Protocol

120. ¹Year 1, second month of the first season, day 8, coronation day^c under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Powerful in Strength; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Divine in kingship; Golden Horus: Powerful in Being; ²King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okhepernere, Son of Re: Thutmose (II), Beautiful in diadems, upon the Horus-

^aSee also Senmut's reference to his death (§ 368, ll. 7, 8).

^bCut into the rock on the road from Assuan to Philæ; text in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 16, a; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 3, 4, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 250, 251; but the best text is revised from a squeeze by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 81; translation, 38.

^cThe "appearance" (lit., *dawning*) of a king is his coronation; it is to be construed with "upon, etc.," after the names of the king. As this is the king's first year, the coronation is not an anniversary, but the very first day of the reign.

throne of the living; his father, Re, is his protection, and Amon, lord of Thebes; ³they smite for him his enemies. Lo, his majesty is in the palace, (¹but¹) his fame is mighty; the fear of him is in the land, [his] terror in the lands of the Haunebu; ⁴the two divisions of Horus and Set^a are under his charge; the Nine Bows together are beneath his feet. The Asiatics come to him bearing tribute, and the Nubian Troglodytes bearing baskets. His southern boundary is as far as the Horns of the Earth^b (his) ⁵northern as far as the ends; ^cthe marshes of Asia^c are the dominion of his majesty, the arm of his messenger is not repulsed among the lands of the Fe[n]khu.

Announcement of Rebellion

121. One came to inform^d his majesty as follows: "The wretched Kush ⁶has begun to rebel, those who were under the dominion of the Lord of the Two Lands purpose hostility, beginning to smite him. The inhabitants of Egypt are about to bring away the cattle behind this ⁷fortress^e which thy father built in his campaigns, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), living forever,^f in order to repulse the rebellious barbarians, the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthennofer, for those who are ⁸there on the north of the wretched Kush [— — —] with the two Nubian Troglodytes among the children of the chief of the wretched Kush who [—] before the Lord of the Two Lands 9— [———].” His majesty was furious thereat, like a panther, when he ¹⁰heard it. Said his majesty, “I swear,^h as Re loves me, as my father, lord of gods, Amon, lord of Thebes, favors me, I will not let live anyone among their males [—] ¹¹among them.”

^aCf. § 70, l. 2.

^bCf. § 101, l. 5; and Index V.

^cSee Index V, s. v.

^dLit., “to make prosperous the heart of his majesty,” which is the conventional form for introducing a matter to a superior in letter-writing.

^eThese are the cattle of Egyptians who have settled in Nubia beyond the frontier military station, and are thus in danger of being pillaged by the rebellious Nubians.

^fThis epithet indicates that Thutmose I is still living.

^gSethe: “neigen zum Bündniss?”

^hCompare the same royal oath in the obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut (§ 318,

The Campaign

122. Then his majesty dispatched a numerous army into Nubia (*Tꜣ-pdꜣt*) on his first occasion of a campaign, in order to overthrow all those who were rebellious against his majesty or hostile to the Lord of the Two Lands. ¹²Then this army of his majesty arrived at wretched Kush [—————].^a This army ¹³of his majesty overthrew those barbarians; they did [not]^b let live anyone among their males, according to all the command of his majesty, except one of those children of the ¹⁴chief of wretched Kush, who was taken away alive as a living prisoner with their people to^c his majesty. They were placed under the feet of the Good God; for his majesty had appeared upon his throne when ¹⁵the living prisoners were brought in, which this army of his majesty had captured. This land was made a subject of his majesty as formerly, the people ¹⁶rejoiced, the chiefs were joyful; they gave praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, they lauded this god, excellent in examples of his divinity. It came to pass on account of the fame of his majesty, ¹⁷because his father Amon loved him so much more than any king who has been since the beginning. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okhepernere, Son of Re: Thutmose (II), Beautiful in Diadems, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET^d

[Concluded from § 85; see also § 344]

IV. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE II

123. The conclusion of the long military career of this officer, at least in so far as he has recorded it, was a campaign of Thutmose II against the Shasu-Bedwin, of which this is our only record. It is probable that this defeat of the Shasu was only an incident in the northward march

^aPartially broken away.

^bThe negative is broken out in the text, but may certainly be supplied from l. 10.

^cLit., "to a place under his majesty"; i.e. the place where his majesty was.

^dBibliography on p. 10, note 2.

against Niy (§ 125).^a This last campaign also brought its reward of valor from the king (§ 24).

Campaign against the Shasu

124. I followed King Okhepernere^b (Thutmose II), triumphant; there were brought off for me in Shasu (Š²-sw) very many living prisoners; I did not count them.

[See also § 344]

CAMPAIGN IN SYRIA^c

125. The great importance of this fragment has been overlooked in all the histories, and was first noticed by Sethe.^d It records a campaign of Thutmose II in “*Retenu, the Upper*” and as far probably as Niy.

¹e[Gifts which were brought to]^e the fame of the king, Okhepernere (Thutmose II)^f [from his vic]²tories ———— ³elephant[s]^g ———— ⁴horse[s] ———— [Retenu] ⁵the Upper ———— [the land] ⁶of Niy ———— ⁷kings ———— ⁸his majesty in ———— ⁹[when] he came out of ————.

^aThe reign of Thutmose II was so short that we can hardly suppose that he made more than one campaign into Asia, in addition to his Nubian campaign (§§ 119–22).

^bPublished by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 78) as “Thutmose I;” corrected as above, Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 239, n. 1.

^cFragment from the Der el-Bahri temple, middle colonnade, toward the right end of the Punt reliefs (§ 272). Only the extreme tops of nine lines are preserved. Text: Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 7; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 17; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 102 and 40. Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 80. Besides this inscription, there is a short building inscription of Thutmose II in the Der el-Bahri temple, giving the usual dedication of a doorway which he erected there (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 69, 1).

^dSethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40.

^eAs the inscription accompanies a relief representing gifts, the beginning is undoubtedly to be restored according to numerous analogies, as Sethe has done, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40.

^fIn Naville's text the end of the name is lost; hence Naville, not having collated the old publications, is unable to identify the name, but says “it seems to be that of Thothmes I” (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 17). Both Mariette and Dümichen give Thutmose II.

^gIt is probable that the same region here mentioned in Amenemhat

THE EBONY SHRINE OF DER EL-BAHRI^a

126. The left side-panel of an ebony shrine, unearthed by Naville in the temple of Der el-Bahri, contains the following dedication written thrice on the outside. It is in the name of Thutmose I and II, but the feminine pronoun occurs thrice, and the feminine verbal ending four times;^b hence Hatshepsut was certainly the author of the monument. Moreover, one of Hatshepsut's partisans, Thutiy, states that he made just such an ebony shrine in her time (§ 375, l. 24). It was therefore later usurped by the two Thutmoses, showing that Hatshepsut reigned for a time before them.

127. The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of offering, lord of diadems, who hath taken the crown of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere, Bodily Son of Re, Thutmose (II)^c; he made (it) as his monument for his^d father, Amon-Re, making for him an august shrine of ebony of the best of the highlands, that she^e might live and abide^f 'for him'^g like Re, forever.

^aNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, xxv-xxix.

^bThe feminine occurs continually in the other inscriptions on the shrine also, as Sethe has shown (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 8, 9).

^cRight-hand column has Thutmose I!

^dThe column on the edge has "*her*!"

^eNaville has not noted this feminine, which occurs in two of the three texts; he offers an impossible masculine in his translation.

^f"*Live*" and "*abide*" are both feminine forms. They are ignored by Naville; Pl. XXVII is very inaccurate in reproducing the alterations evident in the original.

^gOr: "*through him*."

REIGN OF THUTMOSE III AND HATSHEPSUT

INTRODUCTION

128. The close of Thutmose I's independent reign was followed by years of conflict and strife among the Thutmosids, in which the parties of Thutmose I (not yet deceased), Thutmose II, Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut were all pushing the claims of their respective candidates for the throne at the same time. As they all succeeded for longer or shorter periods, there is the greatest confusion of royal names on the monuments dating from this period. It seems to the author that Sethe's explanation of the problem is the first correctly to solve the difficulty. It is the first, and thus far the only, scientific study of the problem employing and reckoning with all the materials. Sethe maintains the following propositions:

1. The instigator of the insertion of a royal name over another royal name is the king bearing the inserted name; hence

2. The systematic insertion of the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II together, over the name of Hatshepsut on buildings erected by her together with Thutmose III, shows that Thutmose I and II reigned for a short time together, after the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III had begun.

3. The earliest monuments of Thutmose III show that he at first reigned alone, Hatshepsut being called merely "*great king's-wife*," until she later became king coregent with him.

129. The real succession on the first fall of Thutmose I was therefore probably thus: